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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: GENDER AND ETHNICITY IN READING TEXTBOOKS USED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

by

© JOSEPHINE MARY MILNE-HOME.

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled " Education and Cultural Imperialism: Gender and Ethnicity in Reading Textbooks used in Primary Achools in Trinidad and Tobago," submitted by Josephine Mary Milne-Home in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

Memmi (1965, 1968) and Fanon (1952, 1963) contend that a dialectical relationship exists between the economic and political structure and culture (the superstructure) on the one hand and the social and psychological structure of social status and individual self esteem (the infrastructure) on the other. Gornick (1971) expresses the same idea when she states that beyond electoral politics, status, prestige, money and real power, there is a politics of role relationship and more subtle and thus more pervasive, the politics of personality, i.e., the politics that routinely maintain social order.

Carnoy (1974) asserts that education is a form of cultural imperialism, and that knowledge disseminated in classrooms is "colonized" along lines that perpetuate the hierarchical structure of society. In Third World countries the culture of the Center nations is refracted through the institutions of Periphery nations.

In Western society knowledge that relates to the biological factors of sex and race are socio-culturally defined in terms of gender and ethnicity. These definitions of gender and ethnicity accord with differences that are associated with hierarchies of power and dominance. Western culture which is white and male dominated, is infused with an ethnocentric and gender bias that permeates cultural forms and symbols.

Curriculum materials employed in school classrooms transmit cultural definitions, attitudes and values. The content analysis of Reading textbooks used in the Primary School System of Trinidad and Tobago attempts to understand the structure of dominance along the lines of gender and ethnicity as stereotyping or colonization of knowledge shapes not only the social consciousness but also the individual consciousness or personality such that individuals come to accept the images assigned to them in the process of socialization or enculturation.

The content analysis of the Reading textbooks included: 1. Story Type Analysis, 2. Themas Analysis (looking at behavior and roles), 3. Biographies, 4. Occupations and 5. Illustrations. The results of these analyses indicated that traditional concepts of gender and ethnicity have been integrated into curriculum materials. Thus, these Reading textbooks are telegraphing stereotypes of gender and ethnicity to children in the school classrooms. White males dominated over females and members of other ethnic groups throughout. They were presented more often as main characters in stories; they were more often the main characters of active mastery themas; they were treated almost exclusively in biographies; they were shown in more occupations, including occupations that are accompanied by prestige, status and power; and they also appeared more often in the illustrations. Those readers written for the children in the West Indies have made progress in the direction of including members of different ethnic groups, but females are still being cast in the stereotyped mold.

It is suggested that, in future, textbooks be written that are culturally relevant and reflect the trend towards equality in West Indian society, rather than adopt traditional stereotypes that perpetuate a tradition of cultural imperialism in West Indian classrooms.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. EDUCATION AS CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 8

A. The Phenomenology of School 10

B. Schooling and Society 13

An Alternative Theory 16

c. Theories of Imperialism 19

Imperialism and Dependency 22

D. The Colonial Situation as an Institutional Framework 24

E. The Psychological Components of the Colonial Situation 24

F. Theories That Bridge Institutional Structures and Psychological Components of Colonialism 27

Colonialism and the Notion of Assimilation 31

G. The Role of Schooling in the Colonial Context 33

III. CULTURAL IMPERIALISM IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN TRINIDAD 35

IV. CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND EDUCATION IN TRINIDAD: A HISTORY OF "CULTURAL IRRELEVANCE" 52

V. CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF SEXISM AND RACISM IN THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ENGLISH SPEAKING SOCIETY 64

A. Language: The Symbolic Base of Society 74

B. The Racist Bias of Our Language 75

C. Language and Power 78

D. Gender Language: A Socio-cultural Perspective 82

E. Language and Labor: Gender Marking in the Work Force 85

F. Language and Change 86

G. The Symbol System and Education 87

VI. A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF READING TEXTBOOKS USED IN THE TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO PRIMARY SCHOOLS FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE PRESENT. GENDER AND ETHNICITY: DIFFERENCE AND DOMINANCE AS RECURRING THEMES 90

A. Methodology 92

Procedure 94

B. Story Type 94

Story Type Descriptions 100

Overview 106

C. Thema Analysis 108

The Sequence of Thema Analysis 111

1. Active Mastery: An Overview 125

Active Mastery Themes 132

Summary 201

2. Second Citizen Themes: An Overview 202

Second Citizen Themes 207

Summary 257

D. Biographies 258

E. Occupations 263

F. Illustrations 281

VII. LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS 291

A. Limitations 291

B. Implications 296

C. Concluding Comments 305

BIBLIOGRAPHY 311

APPENDICES 326

APPENDIX A. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 1: NELSON'S ROYAL READER 326

APPENDIX B. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 2: NELSON'S NEW ROYAL READER 330

APPENDIX C. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 3: NELSON'S WEST INDIAN READERS 333

APPENDIX D. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 4: GINN'S CARIBBEAN READERS 342

APPENDIX E. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 5: NISBET'S JANET AND JOHN READERS 350

APPENDIX F. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 6: COLLINS' TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO READER 353

APPENDIX G. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 7: BLACKIES TROPICAL READER 360

APPENDIX H. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 8: COLLINS' IBIS READER 362

APPENDIX I. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 9: OLIVER & BOYD'S HAPPY VENTURE READERS 378

APPENDIX J. ILLUSTRATIONS READER 10: NELSON'S NEW WEST INDIAN READERS 387

APPENDIX K. OCCUPATIONS BY READING SERIES 399

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
I.	Raw Scores and Percentage Figures for Story Type by Reading Series	96
II.	Ratios of Male:Female by Story Type and Reading Series	97
III.	Ratios of White:Other by Story Type and Reading Series	97
IV.	Ratios of Character Type by Reading Series	114
V.	The Castelike Status of Women and Blacks	119
VI.	Percentage Figures for Character Type by Major Theme and Reading Series	128
VII.	Ratios for Character Type by Major Theme and Reading Series	129
VIII.	Active Mastery Themes	130
IX.	Scores on Active Mastery Subcategories by Character Type	131
X.	Second Citizen Themes	206
XI.	Scores on Second Citizen Subcategories by Character Type	208
XII.	Biographies by Reading Series	259
XIII.	Labor Force in Agriculture, Industry & Services 1960: The Percentages of Males and Females	279
XIV.	Illustrations: Ratios of Character Types by Reading Series	285

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From the outset, schooling implies the transmission of knowledge from teacher to pupil in a predominantly one-way exchange. The teacher represents a culture, and in the classroom an induction is taking place, the teacher providing the child with the rubric and symbolic tools for communication and negotiation in the wider sphere of the cultural matrix of human interaction. The knowledge transmitted in the classroom is no sterile transfusion, or flow of "facts", but a culturally loaded formula. In the classroom context the curriculum is not only a list of objectives, on the contrary, it embodies messages about values, beliefs and prescriptions for behavior deemed appropriate or legitimate in the school and the wider community. The classroom experience is riddled with "hidden" messages (Apple, 1971, 1977) which are latent, but nevertheless influence the child's perceptions, thoughts and behaviors along culturally prescribed lines.

Teachers, whose goal it is to develop cultural skills such as reading, appear at times to be more sensitive to the technical aspects of reading, such as verbal fluency and articulation of sounds, rather than directing attention to the images offered in the texts, and the relevance of these images for the pupils in the classroom. When reading materials are designed for children in one culture and dispensed to children in another culture, the images presented to the latter group are often devoid of meanings related to the everyday experiences of the second group. When images presented in the text lack relevance for the young apprentices of literacy, the result can only be a retarded rate of progress as the meanings are not immediately available for translation into the everyday world as the child experiences it.

From the earliest grades, children are exposed to materials that have the potential to shape attitudes and values, and promote standardized pictures of action and temperament, appropriate to the actors in various situations or contexts. Text books that are made available to teachers for the purpose of instruction are limited in number, and approved (formally or informally) by publishers and school boards, and thus there is a selection or a censorship procedure, albeit crude in some cases, that condones or legitimizes the content of the texts.

Readers abound in stereotyped images that function to distort reality or systematically create false expectations or concepts. Stereotypes displace an openess of thought or imagination by offering closed systems of thought through images that appear already complete. When stereotypes are consistently offered in readers, children are in danger of adopting a conception of self and of others without examining the validity of those concepts and the implications of typed images as models of behavior and appropriateness. Stereotypes distort reality, or the conception of what is real, by promoting a prejudgment, via standardized pictures along certain lines, that are culturally defined, and perpetuated by myths and self-fulfilling prophecies.

> In the beginning, a false definition of the situation evoking a new behavior makes the originally false conception come true. The specious validity of the self-fulfilling prophecy perpetuates a reign of error. For the prophet will cite the actual course of events as proof that he was right from the very beginning
> (Merton, 1957, p.423)

In Western culture, which is white and male dominant, stereotypes adhering to race and gender function to derogate non-whites and females. Western culture has an ethnocentric and a gender bias that permeates cultural forms and symbols.

In the last decade, attention has been focused on the biases incorporated, albeit unintentionally, in curriculum materials. In Trinidad the notion of "relevance" has figured prominantly in criticisms of reading materials for children, as text books used in the school system have often been designed abroad, and thus, were never intended to be "relevant" to the Trinidad context. In these text books authors and illustrators, it seems, have faithfully mapped out stereotypes in efforts to "simplify" material for the young consumers engaged in the literacy process. Perhaps it was thought that stereotypes would connote meanings immediately available to the child, and thus enhance the leap from the word or text to the subjective realm of meaning or existential experience, thus hastening the mastery of reading skills. However, it is here asserted that the child is extremely vulnerable to those impressions dispensed in the classroom by teachers and instruction materials, as the child has but a tender grasp, not only of the written word, the language (Standard English) and other symbol forms, but also a tentative draft of his or her own self concept or identity. The means hardly justify the ends, if acceleration of the reading process is harnessed by distorting the child's concept of reality and concept of self, through the presentation of stereotypes. Learning to negotiate the written word or printed page cannot be divorced from the process of the child negotiating the "who am I" in this world (or for some children, it is more the "what on earth am I!"). As such, the literacy process plays an important role in the child's cognitive and emotional development, by offering meanings and shaping reality. In Trinidad the language of the classroom and the printed page, and the language of everyday interaction beyond the classroom are not one and the same, and thus the classroom could be seen as a contact-conflict situation rather than a continuous process situation, which further confounds or compounds the child's efforts in the direction of acquiring literacy (Carrington, 1979). Linguistic conflict in the Trinidad classroom, is not only a problem of grammar or the words that one uses, but a problem of identity as the human mode of negotiating self is linked to the linguistic context. Linguistic conflict is one aspect of psychological conflict for the children in Trinidad classrooms as language cannot be divorced from membership in a culture.

In the ideal situation, the word invites the leap from script to the drama of life, or the child's imagination. Words have a "magic" for a language community or culture, in that they guide thoughts and channel emotions. Reading is a dialogue for those who master the art, or else a mechanical, meaningless, laborious task of translating text to sounds that echo the standard, but have no potency or significance for the child. Characters in the readers are said to play on the stage of the child's consciousness, and through identification with the characters, the child comes to explore his or her own world of experience. It is this translation of word to experience that awakens the passion for reading, and thus reading cannot be separated from psychological growth, or in some cases, psychological conflict, abuse or insult. In the Trinidad context, that fusion of word and meaning is often absent because of the irrelevance and meaninglessness of the world symbolized in readers, and thus the task of learning to read has been made more difficult than it ought to be (Knight, Carrington & Borely, 1974).

5

The stuff of children's literature is the drama played out in relation to and with cultural forms, which communicate and help sustain sociocultural identity or membership. Reading is linked with "belonging" to a group, and as such, it is part of a negotiating process. The diversity of roles in readers opens the way for the child to imagine not only the "who am I", but the "who can I become". Readers open the way for future possibilities. Readers can link the child with the wonderful dangerous, exciting, time and value distorted world of fantasy, where there are innumerable possibilities. In the Trinidad context, Readers have often failed to present the world experienced or even a utopian vision of the world one would ideally like to live in. All too frequently, the world of readers reflects the stereotypes of Western culture, particularly English culture, with a chauvinism that few could ignore after any careful analysis of these Readers. "Oppressed" groups, such as ethnic minority groups and women (which are both majority groups in Trinidad, if numbers alone furnished the criterion for inclusion in the category "minority") are brought onto the stage, it seems, to demonstrate the way in which they defer in a white male dominated culture. Stereotyping is not a haphazard arrangement, but is biased along white ethnocentric and male lines. False representations along these lines shape perceptions that are antagonistic to notions of multiculturalism or pluralism in that the stereotypes tend to be monocultural and elevate the status of males relative to the status of "minority" groups, such as women and non-whites.

Sex-role stereotyping is so pervasive, that it must be considered the norm in children's readers. Males are over-represented as central characters and as active masters of their world; they are offered a vast realm of possibilities and even achieve the impossible with apparent ease. Females, on the other hand, are enshrined in domestic "bliss", and always appear to be so cheerful or happy with their lot. In contrast to their male counterparts, who are shown in numerous and varied productive, authoritative, and creative positions and contexts, females are all these things against a backdrop of neat kitchens and dining rooms. As can be imagined, the extent to which women can exercise their talents or potentials is impoverished by the confinement to one prop, or one set (not to mention the ghastly lines that they are given). Thus, while males are clever, resourceful, courageous, successful, high achievers, dominant, moral, industrious and aspiring for many magnificent goals, females are waiting in the wings, ready to come in with supper, or to play a role that is as dull as it is supportive, or else they play parts that seem to have more to do with enhancing the backdrop with prettiness or sentience, than carrying the action forward. When the action is on, males are the "doers". Women or females are constructed as beings who derive their identity and concept of worth through their attachment to males, or else their own self sacrifice. In most cases "selfhood" is negated where female characters are concerned.

The numerous studies of children's literature that have been done to date dispel all doubt about the fact that some children are accumulating a depressing picture of themselves, and their own possibilities; some children never have the opportunity to see themselves on the printed page. Thus, while some children never see a realistic portrayal of themselves and the world that they experience, other children are presented with limitless possibilities. White middle class boys may be flattered into a very unrealistic self concept, or else battered by the mania for success and mastery of one's world. The resounding message that issues from all the studies of sexism and racism done in the United States (mainly) is that children's Readers are far from innocent, and thus the materials utilized in the literacy apprenticeship may actually be damaging the child's self concept, if in fact the child can tackle the irrelevance of the content and learn to read reflectively. Thus, while black women sit in Parliament in Trinidad, the world of the Reader shows women in domestic roles or else in female stereotyped occupations only.

Reading materials are value laden, and this being the case, the values dispensed should be cause for serious scrutiny and re-evaluation. For some children, the material may invite them to grow and glow, while for others, the word is translated into a sound as a mechanical task at best, and a boring exercise or insulting ritual at the other extreme. Unfortunately, the latter situation has long been the case for many children in Trinidad's classrooms.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AS CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

Paulo Friere asserts that every educational practice implies a concept of what is human, and the human relation to the world (Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1970, chapter 2). For Friere, there is no such thing as a neutral educational process. The basic assumption for Friere is that it is the human ontological vocation to be a Subject who acts upon and transforms the world, and in so doing moves towards ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively. Thus, the human world is not static or closed, nor is it given for all to adjust to. The human world is problematic. This world is the material used in the creation of history, the task that the individual performs as he or she overcomes that which is dehumanizing at any time or place and dares to create something new. Friere asserts that humans educate each other through the mediation of the world (Friere, 1970, pp.12-13).

Schmidt (1973) assumes that a child must be educated if that child is to function in the human environment, which after all is a cultural context of massive anonymous invention. Education, then, is imperative to the humanization process, as each child is "thrown" into the world without complete programs or instincts for human interaction in the civilized environment. At birth the child is without attitudes and values, and for many months, incompetent, a being without language, the vehicle of cultural transmission. Each child enters the world incomplete, and thus inevitably, he or she enters a discourse first with a parenting one or group, and there begins to construct a social world, or sense of reality, and also a concept of self in relation to that reality.

Having been thrown into the world as a being uncompleted, conscious of that incompletion, the child cannot escape education, as each child has to make sense of the tangled threads of the cultural fabric in order to become a full member of that society and acquire an identity in relation to that culture. For Heidegger (in Bauman, 1978), the human mode of being-in-the-world necessitates understanding; existence is its own disclosure. The child moves in time and space not in a vacuum, but in a cultural milieu, and so displaces reality which needs then to be reconstructed mentally if a cognitive map of the world is to be drawn on for future reference.

Schmidt (1973) emphasizes the belief that education must serve the child's needs in order to create a meaningful life in relation to, but not enslavement to, the socio-cultural structure, the matrix of the child's experience.

The child gradually emerges from embeddedness in the world of immediate experience led by and propelled by the active mastery of symbols, the symbol system par excellence being that of language (Schmidt, 1973, p.65). The acquisition of language is central to human development.

> Access to language presupposes active participation and involvement in a world of shared meanings and in the culture of the group to which the child belongs, and is therefore central to the child's 'socialization' and 'enculturation'. It affects the child's emotional development, because linguistic expression transforms emotional experience. It affects the child's cognitive development, because language not only follows but also anticipates and guides cognitive activity. Finally, defective development of speech and language, whatever its cause ... means much more than a deficit in one function of a biological organism: It always involves for the child the risk of missing the specifically humanizing aspect of human development.
>
> (Schmidt, 1973, p.62)

Having entered a discourse with the socio-cultural world, uncovering meanings through the use of labels or words, the process of education has already begun. The human mode of being-in-the-world is guided by symbols and thus humans cannot escape cultural traditions or the myths that have been evolved over time. For Friere (1970) civilization is constructed of myths and humans negotiate their world within the fabric of myths. Humans, however, can transcend their embeddedness in myths and thus demythologize traditional myths or meaning structures and create new meanings in the process of remythologizing reality, as human reality is a representative one.

Different cultures have organized vehicles for transmitting knowledge, and those meanings and values that are deemed necessary for accommodation in or adaptation to the culture. In Western society, the school is recognized as an institution of enculturation, socialization and education.

A. The Phenomenology of School

What is meant by the term "school"? Illich (1970) suggests that school is an age specific, teacher related process, requiring full-time attendance and an obligatory curriculum. The assumptions inherent in the concept of school are that children belong in school, they also learn in school and that they can be taught in school. Illich has difficulty accepting the validity of these assumptions, but the fact remains that schools are the legitimate structures for facilitating education in Western culture. The latent or implicit functions of institutionalized schooling are custodial care, selection, indoctrination and learning..

Illich (1970) contends that schools are a modern invention, along with the notion of childhood that schooling produces. There are modern myths or beliefs that accompany "childhood" in our culture. To recapitulate briefly, we have grown accustomed to "children", and it is our belief that they should go to school, do as they are told, have no income, and most importantly, that they should know their place and behave like children. The "children culture" or "little folk" along with the concept of childhood, evolved as a tradition in our culture, comparatively recently (Aries, Centuries of Childhood, 1962).

Thus, for Illich (1970), growing up through childhood means that a young person is condemned to unravel the discrepancies and conflicts between self awareness and the invasion of social values via the route of transactions with those of one's peer group thrown together, as it were, in school classrooms.

Institutional wisdom informs us that children need school. Thus, by creating childhood, then imposing compulsory education, the child is given another definition as "pupil". As the term implies, pupils are passive in their role of receiving instruction. Teacher and pupil construct a discourse in the classroom, where the dialogue is one-way, from teacher (active) to pupil (passive). Friere (1970) refers to this model of instruction as the "banking concept", which he maintains is a model that simulates the contradictions of attitudes and practices mirrored in oppressive societies as a whole (Friere, 1970, chapter 2). Illich (1970) adds that the chronological age of children disqualifies them from the safeguards which are routine for adults in any modern asylum. However, the incarceration of children in school classrooms is encouraged by the adult culture, who have deemed the school house "sacred ground". The content of instruction, or the curriculum is in tandem with the total belief system that buttresses the sociocultural structure of Western society. In the schools progress is defined and ritualized in graded, age related promotions.

> School then is a ritual of initiation which introduces the neophyte to the sacred race of progressive consumption, a ritual of propitiation whose academic priests mediate between the faithful and the gods of privilege and power, a ritual of expiation which sacrifices its dropouts, branding them as scapegoats of underdevelopment.
>
> (Illich, 1970, pp.63-64)

Schools promote a modern "cargo cult", according to Illich (1970), which is propelled by an ideology of materialism. And, as the school is instrumental in shaping the human vision of reality, creativity and reality correspond with the schooled or insitutional philosophy. The paradox of this total scheme of things is that enslavement to the school and schooled thought is the prerequisite for critical judgment and social awareness, and this cannot be divorced from the process of self awareness or cultural identity. The paradox is magnified to ever greater proportions when one looks at schooling in Third World countries where the system of education faithfully copies models from abroad, imports curriculum packages, and introduces the children to a foreign culture.

B. Schooling and Society

The concept of schooling in Third World countries is one that attributes material and moral improvement together with social mobility to schooling. Such improvements are generalized to national economic growth and development, which has led increasingly to emphasis and expenditure being invested in education.

The "traditional" theory of schooling is based on the popular assumption that "Western education brings people out of their ignorance and underdevelopment into a condition of enlightenment " (Carnoy, 1974, p.4). It is Carnoy's belief, however, that:

> ...educators, social scientists, and historians have misinterpreted the role of Western schooling in the Third World and in industrialized countries themselves. We argue that far from acting as a liberator, Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperial domination. It was consistent with the goals of imperialism: the economic and political control of the people in one country by the dominant class in another. The imperial powers attempted through schooling, to train the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.3)

Carnoy's analysis is based on the interpretation of books and documents that have also been available to those who have drawn other conclusions. For some scholars believe that "schooling has served the poor to succeed and the rich to become benevolent" (Carnoy, 1974, p.3). Myths or beliefs about the positive aspects of schooling have been perpetuated by educators and policy makers who are convinced that education is crucial to development. However, critics of traditional schooling have emphasized the point that the knowledge gained in the school is value laden and serves a dominant group in society.

> Why were all these myths perpetuated? Why was this our knowledge of schools? We believe that it is because knowledge itself is 'colonized' : colonized knowledge perpetuates the hierarchical structure of society ... Those who supported schooling as a means to mass mobility wanted either to perpetuate the myth to support the social structure unchanged in their own interests or as 'disinterested' academics were themselves colonized sufficiently to accept the system's rules for limited self criticism.
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.3)

The notion or pedagogical concept of human transformation was coopted into the theory of capital accumulation, when the ruling classes required skilled labor rather than unskilled and unlettered labor. Just as the human mind could be transformed from ignorance to intelligence, human labor could be transformed and a rationale for adopting skills could facilitate a movement away from the feudal outlook. The population of unskilled laborers who were thought to be threatening or dangerous, could be made competitive and orderly. In this process of civilizing the masses, schooling was and does play a key role. The importance of schooling was not necessarily linked with the skills needed for vocations but rather the attitudes needed by the capitalist system to harness willing workers for industry. It was Adam Smith's (1937) contention that:

> though the state was to derive no advantage from the instruction of the inferior ranks of people, it would still deserve its attention that they should not be altogether uninstructed. The state, however, derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people besides, are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one.
> (Wealth of Nations, New York Modern Library, 1937, p.740 in Carnoy, 1974, p.27)

Thus, while it was true that schools were instrumental in transforming societies from feudalism to capitalism, it is also true that once the capitalist structure was erected, the schools were there to buttress capitalism. Schools functioned to control social change or maintain the status quo rather than evolve further in terms of social revolution or transformation.

It is Carnoy's (1974) contention that schools are not primarily concerned with developing vocational skills. The primary function of the school is to tranfer a culture, and thus the knowledge that is imparted in the schools is to shape values and beliefs and to channel children into the social roles that are expected of them in the traditional framework of society. As such, cultural transmission implies the maintenance of social order rather than the further evolution of social change. Common schooling in the capitalist framework prepares pupils to assume roles within the structure that already exists. The children who succeed in the school system are those who have those qualities most desirable in the society and the economy - verbal ability, awareness of time, and the internalized responsiveness to extrinsic rewards rather than intrinsic ones. Those students who have the qualities most desired by the capitalist society are identified in the course of schooling.

According to Illich (1970), the school system provides a rationale for success and power in those societies where schooling is revered. The school is seen as the testing ground for future success, status and prestige. The school objectively selects those who will be rich and powerful and those who will be at the other end of the scale, and while this myth continues the rich and the poor believe that they should be slotted into the positions that they have arrived at in the social structure.

An Alternative Theory

Carnoy (1974) argues that schooling has brought people out of their traditional hierarchies, and into the capitalist hierarchy. Thus, while the process hints of elements of liberation, there are also elements of dependency and alienation in the system that have to be looked at on the individual or personal level, as well as from the collective perspective. For while the school has its liberating aspects, it is also true that schools do not provide those things that are necessary for the pupil to liberate himself or herself. The concept of pupil is a clue to the fact that liberation is not part of the schooled philosophy and like the concept of pupil, the degree to which liberation is allowed is controlled by those who set the goals in a society. In many cases, those who are directly responsible for defining the goals for education are located outside of Third World countries.

In the Third World schooling, along with the desire for rapid economic and political development, was controlled by foreigners (with a different history, culture, social structure, value system and religion), and furthermore the interests of the decision-makers were those of a class of people who had different patterns of consumption, as well as a different cultural identity. As such, the children in the Third World were confronted with a curriculum that represented a world that bore little resemblance to their own. Thus, Carnoy (1974) contends that this form of schooling was another form of imperialism or colonialism. While it is true to say that schooling was not entirely unaffected by the cultures into which it was introduced, it is more true to say that there was an overdetermining factor that favored the metropolitan culture.

While the old style imperialism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has all but disappeared, the education systems of ex-colonies remain largely intact after independence. The curricula taught and the language of the classroom have been carried over from the colonial era. In many ways, the relationship between the ex-colony and the ex-colonizer may appear stronger economically and culturally than it was during the period of colonial administration.

> We argue then, that the purpose of Western schooling as it was instituted around the world was to make people useful in the new hierarchy, not to help them develop societal relationships which carried them beyond that social structure to others. So schooling does not help people reach stages beyond this capitalist/ foreign or other class-controlled hierarchy whether it benefits them or not. We define this as the colonizing aspect of schooling. Transformation from traditional to capitalistic hierarchies occurs, at least in certain sectors, but the tools of change are not taught in the schools. Schooling as a colonial institution attempts to make children fit certain molds, to shape them to perform predetermined roles and tasks based on their social class.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.18)

Paulo Friere (1970) referred to the colonial situation as the culture of silence:

> The colonial element in schooling is its attempt to silence, to rationalize the irrational, and to gain acceptance for structures which are oppressive.
>
> (in Carnoy, 1974, p.19)

According to this definition of colonialism or colonization, oppressed groups can be regarded as victims of colonization as there is not the prerequisite of imperialism. One class can be said to colonize another, men can colonize women, whites can colonize blacks or other ethnic minority groups, within one nation. However, according to Carnoy (1974) imperialism requires colonization.

> A nation or a people will not choose to be economically exploited or culturally dominated. They must be colonized to accept that role. Once colonized, their identity rests with the metropole's institutions, but these institutions never accept them even as fully as the colonized of the metropole.
>
> Colonialism within nations can give rise to subnational movements that have nationalistic characteristics ... They are obviously analogous to the national independence movements in their desire to overthrow colonial subjugation. Women's liberation, in its pure form, stresses women's nationalism : complete (including sexual) independence from men. The liberation struggle is often as much psychological as political. 'Independence' from colonial rule, in the common definition means, the right to elect or choose national leaders, or a reordering of political control. In the more profound definition, such superficial political choice represents the tip of the independence iceberg. Liberation from colonial rule requires a redevelopment of humanness and self esteem; a redefinition of what it means to be independent. When people are colonized, they are dependent and do not even know how to behave in a liberated condition. Decolonization, or liberation, demands personal and societal struggles which go far beyond lowering one flag and raising another.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, pp.19-20)

In view of this more encompassing definition of colonization, it becomes evident that colonization at the psychological level does not disappear when independence is granted to colonies, as that would only mean a change of political leaders rather than a change in political and social consciousness. The institutions that were established during the times of formal empires in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continue to colonize the people who negotiated themselves within these structures. Thus, schooling continues to be an instrument of colonization, in that it is a vehicle of social control, and hierarchical skill production. The more complex the division of labor becomes both in developed and underdeveloped countries, the more sophisticated the colonization in the classrooms becomes.

C. Theories of Imperialism

The domination of one people by another people is not new in human history, but a recurring theme over a long period of time. This domination has taken place when one group of people has been able to extend their power to encompass another group of people, thus increasing the number of subjects under one political system.

Carnoy (1974, pp.33-44) outlines the theories of Schumpeter and Lenin by way of comparing two strikingly different models of imperialism. For Schumpeter imperialism was based:

> ... on the unquestionable fact that 'objectless' tendencies toward forcible expansion, without definite, utilitarian limits - that is, non-rational and irrational, purely instinctual inclinations toward war and conquest - play a very large role in the history of mankind.
> (Quoted in Carnoy, 1974, p.35)

Schumpeter found an explanation for imperialism in the psychological composition of humankind, and moves from this argument to the next; that capitalism is an anti-imperialist trend in that the production associated with capitalism counters the forces that would otherwise be channelled into dominating others.

Schumpeter denied the imperialism of the industrial nations moving abroad and establishing empires, saying that imperialism by trading and investment was an impossibility. Capitalism was based on free competition, free trade and a policy of laissez-faire. In brief, it would seem that Schumpeter's notion of capitalism was drawn from a text book which put forward the ideal parameters for capitalism.

According to other theorists, Schumpeter's vision of capitalism was shortsighted in that it ignored the realities of capitalism and the imperialist expansion of the industrial nations of Europe that reached a peak in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

> The crux of the difference between Schumpeter's and the Marxists' view of imperialism 'lies in whether imperialism is an inevitable development of capitalism or something imposed on it, and running counter to its true nature, by political leaders and special interests able to evoke atavistic impulses found throughout society.'
> (in Carnoy, 1974, p.39)

Lenin argued that imperialism was a logical and necessary phase of capitalism; that as business expanded, it became concentrated in oligarchies, as industrialists determined to control resources and markets. This meant that expansion was not only to "backward" countries but to industrialized regions as well. Carnoy (1974) points out that in Lenin's analysis of imperialist expansion the rivalry between powerful nations is of crucial importance.

> An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between the capitalist powers in the 'striving for hegemony; i.e., for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and to undermine his hegemony ...' In Lenin's argument these two factors combine, to produce a powerful force for overseas expansion.
> (in Carnoy, 1974, p.40)

The model that is most commonly referred to for the explanation of imperial relations is that of Gatlung, who built a framework from the theories of Lenin and André Frank. (For a more detailed coverage of the theories of economic imperialism refer to Michael B. Brown's, The Economics of Imperialism , Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondworth, England, 1974)

Gatlung defines imperialism as a:

> relation between a Center and a Periphery nation so that (1) there is harmony in interest between the center in the Center nation and the center in the Periphery nation (2) there is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than the Center nations, (3) there is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the Center nation and the periphery in the Periphery nation.
>
> (quoted in Carnoy, 1974, pp.46-47)

In this model it is seen that the relationship between nations is not simply an international one but actually a combination of intra- and inter-national relations. The center of the advanced capitalist nation is instrumental in maintaining the center of the Periphery nation through military aid, technical assistance, grants for development and educational assistance. Thus the center in the Periphery nation owes its continuing power and wealth for such assistance from the Center nation. The culture of the Center nation is also refracted through the institutions of the Periphery nation.

By the end of the Second World War in 1945, the role of formal schooling as the allocator of social roles was already part of the local or periphery mentality. As countries became "independent" the building of school houses proliferated in an effort to "catch up" with the industrial nations.

> ... Third World countries attempted to produce a literate, highly skilled population. They were aided in this effort by the United States and the former colonial powers, for both saw in schooling an important way to help the Periphery centers overcome political difficulties and at the same time to produce a skilled labor force which would serve the industrialization process. The United States' primary influence was and continues to be the stress on scientific and technical training, and the development of technical skills in the social sciences and business administration.

> ... The best paid professionals work for foreign, especially U.S. companies - the multi-nationals. The kinds of people needed by these firms are engineers, technicians, managers, and accountants. U.S. experts have stressed the need for education as a whole to be more 'relevant' to the development process, which means that it should be less oriented toward traditional disciplines such as law and the humanities, and have a more science oriented curriculum.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.50)

Imperialism and Dependency

The development of countries does not take place independently, but rather interdependently, with some countries developing their economies in direct relation to the development of another. The relationship in the developing process is a conditional one. Thus, there is a relation of interdependence, where some countries are more independent than others, and some are also more dominant than others. This means that there is not a freedom on the part of some countries to develop, as they have been placed under the umbrella of international development where the more powerful countries establish the rules of trade. This usually means that the development of the major countries goes in tandem with the exploitation of other countries.

Dependency theory rejects the theory of capitalist development, which assumes that (1) development means moving towards a set of desirable goals, or progress towards developed societies. (2) underdeveloped societies will move towards developed societies when they throw off traditional values. (3) the distinctions between economic, political and psychological processes can be mobilized towards national development, and (4) it is necessary to coordinate certain social and political forces that sustain the development policy. Thus, it is necessary to have an ideology that motivates the people to work towards these ends.

Dependency theory rejects this view of development because historical time is not linear, and thus it is impossible for societies today to duplicate the process of change in European nations. It is also true that the developed countries grew by expanding their influence throughout the world and exploiting the resources of those nations. Dependency theory draws attention to the fact that the many obstacles that impede development in the underdeveloped nations do not arise from an absence or lag in development-oriented institutions of "traditional societies", but in the relationship that has evolved in the colonial setting:

> ... between the developed and the underdeveloped economies there not only exists a simple difference of stage or state of the productive system but also of function and position inside the same international economic structure of production and distribution.... (This is) a structure defined by relations of domination.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.53)

Dependency theory argues that the prospect of improving the human condition in dependent nations must come from the dominant group in the periphery nations, as the nature of dependency limits the focus to this group. Thus, the situation that exists is not to be attributed to feudal or traditional forces of situations that were part of the past, but to relationships that support the international capitalist system. The continued existence of the metropolitan influence in Third World countries is largely the result of the structures that promote "cultural alienation" and they are reinforced by the center group of the Periphery nations.

> ... Desired values and norms are taken from the metropole, not from the local experience. 'This alienation was the key to the continued existence of the underdeveloped situation.' ....
> Cultural dependency, which includes dependence on technology, concepts, and art forms, severely limits the possibility of new forms of institutional development emerging.
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.55)

D. The Colonial Situation as an Institutional Framework

Lenin's theory of imperialism asserts that economic imperatives are the force that promotes the domination of one people by another group of people, and still further, that the form that this domination takes, is dependent on economic-historical forces.

> ... Insofar as they affect the colonial situation, individual systems of attitudes and behavior are perceived as the subjective translations of the objective positions occupied in productive structures. Correspondingly, this scheme of analysis leads the observer to expect a linear, simple, and universal relationship between attitudes or behaviors and the objective status achieved in the economic organization. The more privileges they derive from such a status, the more all individuals sharing such an experience will be obliged to construct similar sets of prejudiced beliefs and expectations regarding the exploited categories of the population. Whatever the specific nature of these categories (workers, women, colonized) the mechanics of exploitation do not change and there are no significant variations in the treatment meted out to them...
> (Clignet, 1978, p.123)

E. The Psychological Components of the Colonial Situation

According to Clignet (1978) the key contribution of Mannoni (Psychogie de la Colonisation, Le Seuil, Paris, 1950) was that he was the first scholar to emphasize the relevance of psychological dimensions and concepts as components of the colonial situation. The main thrust of Mannoni's thesis is that while colonization is the result of economic and political forces, these enterprises could not have taken shape without the recruitment of actors predisposed to play the roles expected of them. Thus, Mannoni emphasizes a trait theory of personality where human actors, through their early childhood experiences, are predisposed to dominate others or to be dominated by others.

> Although this theory is not a direct derivative of the Schumpeterian model of imperialism, it has in common with it the abstraction from the capitalist mode of production as a main feature of imperialism and colonialism and stresses the psychological make-up of those who are the conquerors and those who are conquered.
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.59)

For Mannoni, the colonial situation can only exist in a situation where the colonized accept the imperative of the colonizer, and thus, Mannoni implies that the colonized are in a position to accept or to reject those imperatives. However, the situation that prevails in the colonial society is said to induce child rearing practices that foster dependency and feelings of inferiority, which were then transferred to the colonizer (instead of ancestors or elders in the period before colonization). The psychological arrangement that exists in the colonial situation, then, is shaped by the previous psychological condition of the colonizer and the colonized, which in turn, shapes the relationship between the two. In Mannoni's view, however, this previous psychological condition is independent of the colonial situation and thus, he reverts to privatism, the woes of the colonized, by abstracting the nature of the human condition and the individual psychological make-up as conforming to universal laws, irrespective of the structural arrangement of human societies. In this scheme of things, the only way out for the individual is via the route of intensive psychotherapy, as the problems are ones of overcoming patterns that were established in early childhood. Colonial rebellions are not liberating efforts for the colonized but merely quests for new sets of dependence. Clignet (1978) comments that:

> The conceptions that Mannoni proposes of cultural relativism remain static. Conflicts that arise among various categories of actors are independent of the institutional tensions that may cause certain segments of society to oppose one another. Rather, these conflicts are likely to be read as the cyclical repetition of deep-rooted neuroses. Conflicts do not result from inequities and from growing awareness of their existence but from the individual's inability to identify the psychological limits within which he operates. Should we believe Mannoni, there would be no room for social action and for legitimate revolutions. The only solution for alleviating any conflict consists in subjecting the particular actors or groups of actors who are misfits in their roles to an intensive psychotherapy.
>
> (Clignet, 1978, p.127)

To sum up, the contrast between Mannoni's view and a Marxist one is striking. While the Marxist scheme lends little importance to indivdual praxis (or reflective-action), Mannoni's framework regards concerted collective effort or action as irrelevant, because in his view, the dominant traits of the colonial type are independent of the institutional context.

For Mannoni the psychological forces of the colonial context are paramount. In this context the colonizer and the colonized are both trapped in their past experiences, especially those of early childhood and thus the problems of the colonial situation are personal or private and failure to adjust to the setting is recognized as a symptom of some underlying neurosis. In this scheme, the interaction between the colonizer and the colonized follows patterns of development that are independent of the political, economic and structural factors of the colonial setting.

F. Theories that Bridge Insitutional Structures and Psychological Components of Colonialism

The contributions of Albert Memmi (The Colonizer and the Colonized, Beacon Press, Boston, 1965, and Dominated Man: Notes Towards a Portrait, Orion Press, New York, 1968) and Frantz Fanon (Black Skin/White Masks, Grove Press, New York, 1952, and Wretched of the Earth, Grove Press, New York, 1963)have linked the structural and the cultural on the one hand, and the social status of the individual , and the level as well as the form of that individual's self esteem on the other. Both Fanon and Memmi have stressed the dialectical sets of interaction between the psychological components and the economic-political or structural universality of the colonial situation. For Fanon, and particularly Memmi, the motive of exploitation is a universal consequence of certain types of structural arrangement in that it venerates patterns of interaction along with ideological representations that covary with the nature of the colonizer and the colonized, as well as the processes by which these actors internalize the conflicting demands imposed upon them.

Memmi concentrates on describing and analyzing the relationships among people in the colonial situation and still further, what this relationship implies for the social, economic and personal development of the colonized.

> Let me take this opportunity to reaffirm my position : for me the economic aspect of colonialism is fundamental. The book itself opens with a denunciation of the so-called moral and cultural mission of colonization and shows that the profit motive in it is basic. I have often noted that the deprivations of the colonized are the almost direct results of the advantages secured to the colonizer. However, colonial privilege is not soley economic. To observe the life of the colonizer and the

> colonized is to discover rapidly that the daily humiliation of the colonized, his objective subjugation, are not merely economic. Even the poorest colonizer thought himself to be - and actually was - superior to the colonized. This too was part of colonial privilege.... Does psychoanalysis win out over Marxism? Does all depend on the individual or on society? In any case, before attacking this final analysis I wanted to show all the real complexities in the lives of the colonizer and the colonized.
> (Memmi, quoted in Carnoy, 1974, p.60)

In order for one group of people (the colonizers) to dominate another group of people (the colonized) both groups have to take on roles that reinforce this unequal distribution of power in the colonial setting. The colonizer must accept the reality of being a colonizer or usurper of power. To Fanon and Memmi, this role is not explained in terms of predispositions that result from early childhood experiences. The colonizer has the advantage of the economic and military might of the metropole, whereas the colonized have no such power. Thus, the colonized has little choice but to adjust to the situation by developing traits that have been assigned by the colonizer. The colonized person is typed as being lazy, vicious, dishonest, dangerous, uncivilized, pagan and so forth.

> Fanon stresses in this respect the significance of zoological or infrahuman references in the description that the colonizer makes of his victim. 'The native is declared insensible to ethics. He represents not only the absence of values but also the negation of values and in this sense he is the absolute evil.'
> (Quoted in Clignet, 1978, p.132)

The colonial relationship exists when the colonized integrates the discourse of the colonizer into the silence and passiveness that characterizes the colonized existence. The colonized individual is thus obliged to recognize the power and dominance of the colonizer.

Carnoy (1974) suggests that first the colonizer needs the poverty and degradation of the colonized to justify a position of dominance in society and second, that the colonial situation manufactures the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.

> At the basis of the entire construction, one finally finds a common motive ; the colonizer's economic and basic needs, which he substitutes for logic, and which shape and explain each of the traits he assigns to the colonized.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.61)

Institutions in the colonial setting are shaped by the colonizer, for the colonizer, and since the colonized is forced to function within these institutions, the conceptions of the colonizer are internalized by the colonized. Those who resist this caricature are punished or labelled as misfits, or described as aggressive. In brief, the colonized are forced to adhere to the colonizer's law. And still further, Memmi suggests that the adherence to the caricature or stereotype is part of of colonization and not its cause.

> In order for the colonizer to be a complete master, it is not enough for him to be so in actual fact, but he must also believe in its legitimacy. In order for that legitimacy to be complete, it is not enough for the colonized to be a slave, he must also accept his role. The bond between colonizer and the colonized is thus destructive and creative. It destroys and recreates the two partners of colonization in colonizer and colonized. One is disfigured into an oppressor, a partial unpatriotic and treacherous being, worrying only about his privileges and their defense; the other into an oppressed creature, whose development is broken and who compromises by his defeat.
>
> (Memmi, quoted in Carnoy, 1974, p.62)

The relation between Memmi's analysis and that of dependency theory is obvious : the colonial relation determines the pattern of development or nondevelopment in the colonized country.

The recognition by the colonized of inferior status leads to an attempt to beat the colonizer at the same game. The colonized try to play"whitey"and hence to reduce the differences that the colonizer has defined as the origin of the second class status of the colonized. This reduction is attempted in terms of signalling prestige, such as aping the colonizer's language, dress or fashion, manners and attitudes. Insofar as the colonized is evaluated in terms of the distance from the colonizer's cultural model, the gap is narrowed by these attempts by the colonized to signal "refinement". These patterns are familiar in the colonial setting, where a double alienation is set in motion when the colonized attempt to play whitey, and even beat whitey at the same game. The first alienation is the destruction of one's own culture in the attempt to identify with whitey, and the second alienation is derived from the selective nature of the elements of the metropolitan culture with which the colonized is confronted.

> The machinery, the books, the movies, the curricula, and the labor force exported to the colonies reflect the specific needs experienced by the segments of the metropolitan society present on the local scene. As such they offer a distorted image of the metropolitan culture.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.63)

For Fanon the transference of power from the colonialists to the bourgeoisie of the Periphery nation maintains colonial institutions and often even increases the dependency of the ex-colonial country. The bourgeoisie of the Periphery nation following independence "discovers its historic mission : that of intermediary." (Fanon quoted in Carnoy, 1974, p.63)

> The national middle class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regine is an underdeveloped middle class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is in no way commensurate with the bourgeoisie of the mother country which it hopes to replace. In its narcissism, the national middle class is easily convinced that it can advantageously replace the middle class of the mother country. But that same independence which literally drives it into a corner will give rise within its ranks to catastrophic reactions, and will oblige it to send out frenzied appeals for help to the former mother country.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, pp. 63-64)

For Fanon, the relation between the weak middle class is the "transmission line between the nation and the capitalism ... which today puts on the mask of neo-colonialism." (Fanon quoted in Carnoy, 1974, p.64) This is the essence of dependency, as the bourgeoisie of the Periphery nation imitates the European elites without negotiating the creative stages of capitalist development, and while this is happening at the center of the Periphery nation, the bulk of the population remains outside the dynamic sectors of the economy.

Colonialism and the Notion of Assimilation

In contrast to the views of Fanon and Memmi, Clignet (1978) suggests that colonialism does not consist of capitalizing on the real and imaginary differences between the colonizer and the colonized, but it is also evident in the minimizing of those differences. For example, the curriculum meted out to the colonized in Ghana was the same as that taught to the lower class children in Britain. Thus, "assimilation" becomes the ideological framework within which the colonizer stresses the universality of the metropolitan culture and reduces aspirations toward upward social mobility experienced by the colonized into individual rather than collective terms.

The very use of the term "assimilation" in the language of the colonizer is suggestive of its colonizing significance.

> In its current usage, the word assimilation is therefore colonialist, since it sanctions the unilateral concession of equality by the colonizer to his victim and does not differentiate between the perspectives of analysis of the two sets of actors present in the situation.
> (Clignet, 1978, p.136)

Assimilation infers a reduction of the colonized to the role of object to be assimilated into the structures and norms of the metropolitan society; it infers a concession by the colonizer rather than a dialogue between two equal perspectives or cultures.

For Clignet (1978) the end of the dilemma of colonization must be both a collective and an individual venture, as it involves both structural and cultural forces, as well as social and psychological components.

> Indeed the end of the colonialist relationship requires a new definition of universality which takes into account the equality and diversity of individual actors, as well as the differentiation between the optimal objective conditions for their participation into the concerted action and the subjective conditions underlying their individual commitment to a new order. To be free is not only to be free from exploitation but also to be free from one's self. To be free is not only to reverse the terms of the social dialectics but also to recognize the significance and the limits of interdependence.
> (Clignet, 1978, pp.139-140)

G. The Role of Schooling in the Colonial Context

The notion of schooling figures significantly in the writings on colonialism. The conclusions reached have a common theme ; that the colonial school systems were for the colonizer and worked against the colonized. The curriculum and the language of instruction were the same as those in the metropole. Primary schools stressed socialization into European language, values and norms (Christianity) and the degradation of other cultures. In brief, the schools prescribed a monocultural perspective and inferred the universality of the European culture as well as the superiority of that culture.

> The history which is taught him (the colonized) is not his own. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country .... The books talk to him of a world which in no way reminds him of his own. .... His teachers do not follow the same pattern as his father; they are not his wonderful and redeeming successors like every other teacher in the world.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.70)

Memmi postulates that the linguistic dualism in the colonial classroom causes a conflict for the colonized that is never completely overcome while one code is devalued, and the other promoted as the code of refinement or prestige.

> Possession of two languages is not merely a matter of having two tools, but actually means participation in two physical and cultural realms. Here, the two worlds symbolized and conveyed by the two tongues are in conflict; they are those of the colonizer and the colonized.
>
> (Memmi quoted in Carnoy, 1974, p.70)

In a dependent country, the channeling colony alienates the child from his or her cultural needs. This process was recognized by Memmi as part of the colonial situation, whose pattern of relation continues as long as the hierarchy of the Periphery nation is hooked into that of the Center nations. This discourse continues after "independence", as the replacement of flags and political leaders has not been brought about by any cultural revolution or popular struggle. The fact that the colonial institutions remain basically unchanged forces the actors to operate within the structures that were introduced by the colonizer for the colonizer, and the change of political leaders merely alters the nationality of the figure-heads.

Carnoy (1974) indicated that it was Raskin's belief that schooling in the colonial context prevents the child from attaining self definition or cultural identity in the local context.

> Once the student accepts the school treadmill, profilism, and the informal lesions of the pyramid structure, he usually finds that to survive he must become a master at the strategy of faking or totally internalize the channeling colony's view of where he will fit into the colonized reality.
> (Raskin, quoted in Carnoy, 1974, pp.71-72)

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN TRINIDAD

Lines of New England

The cruel lie of cast refute,
Old forms remold and substitute
For Slavery's lash the freeman's will,
For blind routine, wise-handed skill,
A school house plant on every hill,
Stretching in radiate nervelines thence,
The quick wires of intelligence;
Till North and South together brought,
Shall own the same electric thought,
In peace a common flag salute,
And side by side in labours free
And unresentful rivalry
Harvest the fields wherein they fought!

Derek Walcott

Walcott's poem echoes the sentiments of Carnoy (1974), who indicated that schooling was instrumental in tranforming societies from feudalism to capitalism, and that once the capitalist structures were erected, the schools functioned to buttress and maintain capitalism. Walcott suggests that the introduction of schooling appears to usher in a new era in the West Indies, but in truth, schools were congruent with the requirements of the colonizers. Walcott shows that the "new" system is essentially the same as that which existed under slavery. Slaves, however, were inefficient as it was to the slaves' advantage to work as little as possible and to exploit the planter class as much as was possible. The poem echoes the theory of Adam Smith, who suggested that schooling transformed the ignorant and unskilled work force to an intelligent, orderly or "decent" one, as well as a skilled one (Adam Smith 1937, in Carnoy, 1974, p.27). Eric Williams (Capitalism and Slavery, Russell & Russell, New York, 1944) asserted that slavery was abolished, not because of any moral concern on the part of the colonizers, but because slaves were less profitable than free men and women working for self interest. In this poem, Walcott illustrates the point that education may serve the same end as the whip, and being in the hands of the planter class, it could be used to shape compliance and harness the labor of "free" men and women who share the same beliefs and values as the planters themselves. The planting of school houses across the nation had definite advantages for the ruling planter class in that schools were not primarily concerned with training pupils for future vocations, but for colonizing the pupils in an effort to fit children into certain molds, and to shape them to perform roles and tasks based on their social class. In brief, the knowledge that is transmitted in the classrooms of a nation is itself colonized or value laden, and thus the pupils are brought into contact with the culture of the dominant group of the metropolitan society. In this situation the pupils are hooked into the value system that oppresses and alienates them from their own culture and the local social context. Walcott suggests that the person who is free in terms of legal status, and educated to accept the rules of limited self criticism imposed by the elite in his or her society is beneficial to the spirit of capitalism. The person who is free, skilled and competing for control of the market, or even a small portion of the market, is more efficient as a unit of production and more easily controlled than the slave who resents obvious oppression and a total lack of legitimacy in the plantation (feudal) economy; a being totally and obviously exploited.

Braithwaite (1953) indicated that education for the masses in the Caribbean was low on the list of priorities during the early period of settlement, when the predominant concern of the economy was the production of sugar to sweeten the tea cups in England and Europe. Education for the illiterate slaves, and later, the indentured laborers, was almost totally lacking. Defined as a vehicle of labor, the slave was viewed as a marginal being, whose docility was as necessary as the child-like dependency on the planter class. Van den Berghe (1978) referred to this system as a form of paternalistic racism as the slaves were predominantly Negroes, and the planters were predominantly white. English gentlemen whose fortunes allowed it sent their children to England where they could take advantage of a "polite and generous education" (Williams, 1942, p.70)

> There were perhaps, three outstanding deficiencies in the education system in Trinidad in the later nineteenth century. First, a very large proportion of the school-aged population received no education whatever, and those who did attend a school often did so very irregularly. Secondly, the quality of instruction in the elementary schools was poor, and the buildings and equipment inadequate. Lastly, secondary education was almost exclusively confined to upper class children, with the important exception of the small number of 'free boys'. This state of affairs was possible because of the existence of certain official and upper class attitudes towards mass education in Trinidad. It is important, therefore, to examine these attitudes and show how they operated to limit educational opportunities.
> (Brereton, 1972, p.200)

Williams (1942) discussed the high percentage of illiteracy in the Caribbean at that time and suggested that poverty, the excessive inequity of incomes, and the political impotency of the masses, was only a partial explanation for the situation that existed. To keep people ignorant and unlettered was, in his view, part of a deliberate policy from which the ruling class profited. In effect, the planter class required unskilled rather than skilled labor, and they also needed cheap labor and so the plantation economy was more like a feudal system within a capitalist system. These words of one planter echo the prevailing attitudes of the planter class regarding the education of children of black slaves:

> Give them some education in the way of reading and writing but no more, ... Even then I would say, educate only the bright ones; not the whole mass. If you do educate the whole mass of the agricultural population you will be deliberately ruining the country ... Give the bright ones a chance to win as many scholarships as they can; give the others three hours' education a day ... but if you keep them longer you will never get them to work in the fields ... If you want agricultural laborers and not dissatisfaction, you must not keep them longer.
>
> (Quoted in Williams, 1942, p.72)

These were the sentiments of the planters, for whom education implied sowing seeds of discontent, in an economy buttressed on the availability of abundant cheap labor. The lighter work on plantations was done by children under the age of twelve years. Thus, when one planter was asked whether it might be better to send children to school, rather than have them work as soon as they were able, his reply was that education "would be of no use to them ... as long as this is an agricultural country, ... of what use will education be to them if they had it?" (Williams, 1942, p.73)

There was a place for every member of society, and in this caste-like system, the black person was crushed into the bottom of the pyramid structure by the white elite whose policies were designed to maintain this order. The children of the lower classes were of greater economic value in the fields than they would have been in the school classroom, as they were not viewed as citizens, but as property or a labor resource for the planter class.

When the education commission was despatched to report on the colonies in 1931, they wrote;

> We appreciate the argument for abolishing child labor on the estates. But while accepting the desirability of such abolition we think it is possible to overestimate its extent and its evils. It is for the most part confined to the sugar and, at certain seasons, cotton estates. The conditions are not comparable to those of factory labor under European urban industrial conditions, and we are not convinced that children twelve years old are necessarily worse off under these conditions than they would be in the overcrowded, badly staffed schools which the introduction of compulsion without heavy additional expenditures would perpetuate and extend.
>
> (Williams, 1942, pp.73-74)

Brereton (1972) suggested that the negative education policy at the turn of the century was a reflection of the attitudes and ideas related to mass education at that time. The local governments and the privileged classes were never enthusiastic supporters of such a policy, but rather, were hostile toward the concept of education for the children of laborers. The attitudes expressed were not openly racist, but the question of economic expediency of educating children who were destined to be unskilled manual workers was a popular topic.

> Nothing was publicly said or written that would not have been platitudinous in England or Ireland. But it is difficult not to suspect that there were those who believed in their inmost hearts, or confided only to their friends, that the Negro had been endowed with inferior or childish traits which society could repress but never remove by education.
>
> (Donald Wood, quoted in Brereton, 1972, p.202)

Brereton (1972) quotes a retired Inspector of Schools as saying in 1898:

> How often have sugar plantersand others said to me, 'What do you want to educate little niggers for? Put hoes in their hands and send them into the cane pieces.'
>
> (Quoted in Brereton, 1972, p.203)

A similar sentiment is inferred in the attitude toward children in orphanages:

> The orphanages must teach its inmates to be, not ladies and gentlemen, but 'honest, industrious, self-respectful, and God-fearing gardeners, carpenters, servants, cooks, or housekeepers.'
>
> (Quoted in Brereton, 1972, p.203)

Brereton (1972) suggested that the majority of people in the "respectable" classes, especially those who were employers of agricultural labor, regarded education for the working class at best a necessary evil, and at worst, positively harmful to themselves and to a society that was dependent on agriculture.

The attitudes of the elite towards mass education was translated into various ways of limiting educational opportunities to the lower class children. The establishment did not openly refuse lower class children to the secondary schools, but it did set up devices that effectively restricted their entry. The rule that restricted "illegitimate" children from entry was obviously directed at the children from the working class, since the great mass of lower class blacks were illegitimate, as well as virtually all East Indian children (Brereton, 1972, pp.207-208).

During the nineteenth century, education policy in Trinidad,on paper at least, appeared comparatively progressive. Under Governor Lord Harris, efforts were made to establish an elementary school in every government ward, where tuition was free but supported by local taxes. At this same time, educators in Trinidad were intellectually committed to a philosophy of equal opportunity for every child in the colony.

Lord Harris's plan to broaden the base of education was hedged by the entrance requirement for secondary school education was the Christian wedding ceremony performed for the parents prior to the birth of the child. This restriction was obviously a discriminatory act that effectively ruled out secondary education for the majority of the children in Trinidad at that time. The broad concept of "facilitating education" which had been set forth in the proposals for the abolition of the slave trade had not yet been realized, even for "free people of color" (Rubin & Zavalloni, 1969, p.37). Even if the legitimacy requirement was met, there were other considerations that could be used to halt the aspirations of children from the laboring class seeking to attain positions above the station to which they had been assigned.

"Free places" awarded to four or eight boys from the government and assisted schools to attend secondary schools often had to be declined, as few rural parents could afford the luxury of sending their sons to the city where the schools were located. When parents did sacrifice their "all" for a son's education, the problems were far from over, as a new set of problems emerged. "Free boys" were in most cases too poor to appear decently dressed, and their mental health and physical health frequently deteriorated when they were separated from parental and family support structures. Free boys were a picture of poverty, and their peers frequently regarded them with scorn or contempt. Thus, the free boys often paid dearly for their much prized education. They had won the privilege of attending grammar school, but the hardest lesson to learn was that of coping with rejection, humiliation and scorn in the city alone, acutely alone.

> Nothing illustrates the hostility of the upper class to mass education better than the issue of the free places to the colleges. They were subjected to frequent criticism. Such a respected figure as the Principal of Q.R.C. wrote in 1892: 'They have always been viewed with dislike by a portion of the community. It is urged that the presence of so large a number, accumulating between 20 and 30, of the boys of a low social class is injurious to the moral tone of the school, and that many respectable people therefore refrain from sending their sons to the college, preferring the less efficient teaching of a private school to the risk of such association. This feeling is, I believe, widely prevalent, and deserves the consideration of the government.'
>
> (Quoted in Brereton, 1972, p.209)

This same principal reported that most of the free boys were either dumb or idle, or both, and still further, that the poor could not maintain their children so as to support continued mental effort. For these reasons, the principal thought that there should only be two places given to "free boys" instead of the eight places given at that time. The Port of Spain Gazette commented that the free places should be dropped entirely, for the feeling of the "intelligent public" was to allow secondary education to "take its natural course, according to the means of the parents." The natural course of events being that education was natural for the rich and quite unnatural for the poor, and thus the economic bias in nature is here asserted!

> These children who paid nothing for entry into the college, and who were brought up without morals, being brought into contact were liable to contaminate the children of those who paid for their admission. They were surrounded with bad habits, bad language,

> and vice, and it was bound to spread.
> (Quoted in Brereton, 1972, pp.209-210)

Education was not the leveller that one might have expected from boldly printed liberal policies. It was effectively instituted as a class based phenomenon to meet the needs of the white residents of the colony. The message was clear; "free boys" who entered the system were trespassing on a white domain after deliberately forging past the numerous "keep out" signs along their way. Secondary education was simply ruled out for the vast majority of children in Trinidad. In 1889, William Miles, then principal of Queen's Royal College, Port of Spain, is quoted as saying:

> What is done therefore for secondary education in this colony amounts to this, that in its chief town only, professional men, Government officers, ministers of religion and businessmen are able to get themselves a fairly good Grammar School education at a comparatively cheap rate.
> (Quoted in Ramchand, 1970, p.27)

According to Brereton (1972), William Miles was not one to promote the education of boys from lower class families, but on the contrary, he actively discouraged their efforts towards self improvement by refusing to teach them.

> The free boys in the secondary schools, who were nearly all coloured or black, were in a somewhat invidious position. New Era claimed in 1877 that free boys in Q.R.C. were discriminated against: they were refused books, and for days consecutively they were not examined in their lessons. Often they had no direct teaching at all. Negro boys in general were discriminated against by the principal William Miles, by not being put in to his class, the only one from which boys could compete for the Island Scholarships. The result was a decrease in the number of Negro boys winning them.
> (Quoted in Brereton, 1972, p.208)

Brereton (1972) asserts that the official policy of education was always a matter of economic retrenchment in Trinidad. Financial backing for the purpose of educating for equal opportunity was never seriously entertained by Civil Servants, and the upper class in general felt that education was unnecessary for the children of working class blacks and East Indians.

According to Singh (1974) the development of education for the Negro and the East Indian populations in the Caribbean was retarded by policies of the government, and so it was the missionaries who pioneered in the field. The work of Canadian missionaries was particularly emphasized in the case of the East Indian communities. Singh (1974, p.67) reports that according to the 1931 census, 77.2% of the East Indian population could neither read nor write in English, and that those who could were Christian converts (who had already started to shed markers of their own cultural traditions and cultural identity to accelerate their integration and advancement in their new "home").

Singh (1974) stresses that the reasons for the relative neglect of education by the majority of East Indians in Trinidad prior to 1950 is none too difficult to discern: Prior to 1900, the majority of East Indians living in Trinidad were born in India and arrived in Trinidad as adults. They were there to work on the plantations for a period and many felt that they would return "home" after their period of indenture had been completed. In Their traditional culture children were valued as contributors to the family income through a family based division of labor. Children were differently defined in poor East Indian communities and were not "children" as the notion is defined by contemporary Western standards. The luxury of "childhood" was short lived in the Indian context. Parents placed little importance on children's education, and initially resented the proselytizing activities of Christian denominational schools. There was the real fear that the children would be alienated from the family because education was placed second to religious indoctrination in these schools. The significance or utility value of schooling was not yet recognized by the majority of East Indians, and at the same time, it was not in the interests of the planter class, or colonial government, to enlighten this laboring class with respect to the advantages of education at a time when cheap labor was almost impossible to obtain.

East Indians were the "slaves" of the early and middle twentieth century , and as such they were scorned by the rest of the community. Their low status was further compounded by their obvious cultural differences, such as their dress, language, religion and eating habits. Like any minority group in a nation, attributes that could be identified as different were subjected to systematic derogation and the people degraded in the face of the wider community as part of their colonization. In the Trinidad context the East Indian community was assigned certain traits, in the same way as the Negro had been stereotyped and kept at the bottom of the social hierarchy before slavery was abolished. For the wider community the East Indian culture was never given equal status with European culture and when missionaries learnt Hindi or Urdu, the motive here was not to appreciate their culture or their perspective, but rather to acquire a tool or instrument for Christian conversion. The ethnocentric arrogance of missionary activity never seriously reflected, and thus the pious Christians never imagined, that a "rape" was actually taking place, and that their mission was actually violating and humiliating a people proud of their culture.

Singh (1974) reported the fact that East Indian marriages were not recognized by the colonial government, which defined legitimacy along Christian lines. Thus, the vast majority of East Indian children were legally defined as illegitimate before 1946, and were often deprived of their inheritance, and all the other things that "bastards" were deprived of in the colonial setting at that time. This meant that most East Indian children were refused entry to secondary schooling if in fact they attended primary school and had the good fortune to win a place in the secondary system (which was rare enough to pose no problem for school administrators and the local elite).

With the establishment of Hindu and Muslim schools in the 1950's, Singh (1974) reports that East Indian children entered the education race in numbers unprecedented, and were soon to figure prominently in the Cambridge and London School Certificate examinations. Their progress into higher status occupations, such as teaching and the Civil Service, was hampered by racial discrimination rather than grades. However, it was obvious at this time that East Indian parents had recognized the advantages of the "education" that men of status wore as part of their badges or symbols of success. Education was a possession or thing that one displayed as a sign of importance and privilege and the successful candidates in the education race were rewarded with upward social mobility which one could not ignore as a luxury in a caste-like social structure. Education represented a passport to privilege, whereas the "Colonial Passport" according to Fanon (1952) was white skin.

The education of the East Indian community in Trinidad is offered here as an example of the cultural conflict and the extent of cultural imperialism that is inextricably linked with colonial and neo-colonial education. When the East Indian child entered the education system the impact of cultural imperialism or colonization was plain to see, as English culture and the English perspective were dispensed to the pupils, whatever their own culture, in small units daily. Every "nation" in the Trinidad community was to experience this modifying and ultimately transforming effect, as school houses were "planted" across the country, but the radical shift of the East Indian community from traditional values and beliefs to English models of conduct highlights the enormity of change. As Walcott has inferred in the poem, Lines of New England, the school house or the school system is in essence the vehicle of cultural transmission and the model is a monocultural one that serves the elite in the center of the Periphery nation which is in harmony with the center of the Center nation. In Walcott's words, the school house produces over time a nerveline that carries one electric thought, and the thought that is electric in the Trinidad setting is dimensioned along the lines of English culture.

The grand paradox in the case of East Indian education in Trinidad is that the opening of schools that professed fidelity to the rites and traditions of Hinduism and Islam was in fact the invitation to Western culture because education was divorced from East Indian culture. Thus, in the schools the focus was soon to be directed away from religion, Hindi and Urdu languages, traditional values and beliefs as the schools were hooked into the system of education that offered the passport to success and upward social mobility in the local context.

The process of negotiating the English language and the English curriculum in an attempt to attain self improvement undermined the loyalty of East Indian students, and thus alienated children not only from their cultural traditions, but also from their families. Parents pushed their children into schooling without knowing that the process would erode the culture that the parents knew, and which the children would sacrifice in the name of schooling and progress. In short, the school system offered success or prestige, dimensioned along the lines of English language and culture, and the price paid for success was the erosion of East Indian culture, rendering it essentially meaningless (and at times despised) among the younger generations of East Indians, who no longer spoke the language that carried the currents of East Indian thought and culture. Thus, not only the language, but an essentially East Indian perspective and identity were lost and such a loss is the essence of alienation.

The concept of education in Trinidad was bolstered as something of great importance as it signified social mobility and was rewarded with respect. The local "intelligentsia" boasted of their command of English culture, and ability to speak fluently and write "good" English, plus an interest in things of the mind. The parade of English culture by demonstrating a certain familiarity with books and the fact that work need not involve manual labor was highly prized. Brereton (1972) suggested that the Negro middle class at the turn of the century, was an "intelligentsia" in that they took pride in being the most "cultured" sector of the community. It appeared as though the efforts to beat "whitey"at the same game, and mock the metropolitan definition of things civilized or refined in terms of signalling English culture, resulted in the emergence of a local "intelligentsia" whose only difference from other groups defined by that name, was that they were not part of the ruling class.

> The Negro middle class attached so much importance to 'culture' because they had no other valuable possession to hold on to. They were not wealthy. They owned few businesses, and no large ones. With some exceptions, they were not landowners or planters. Except for the descendents of the 'French Free Coloureds' they had no aristocratic past to cherish, no family connections, birth or breeding to boast of. They lacked the 'colonial passport' of a white skin.
>
> (Brereton, 1972, p.216)

The message that emerges from the quotation above is that the culture that had an impact or some capital value in the colonial context was the English culture, and that other cultures were rendered inferior in that they had no prized position in the local context.

In order to gain some insight or awareness of the child's situation in a Trinidad classroom in the thirties and forties of the twentieth century; the seriousness that went in tandem with the absurd committment to education per se; the underlying sadism promoted through a ruthlessly authoritarian and often bigoted pattern of conduct, and the very superficial if highly verbal approach to education, let us take an excursion into the classroom via the novel, where the artist, V.S.Naipaul in A House For Mr. Biswas (Andre Deutsch, London, 1961) allows us to participate in the scene.

West Indian writers have included in their tales lucid pictures of both the ludicrous and pathetic aspects of this limited span and variety of schooling, where the confusion and confounding of the concepts "education" and "schooling" paraded as a mask called "hope". Vidia Naipaul captures the configuration and social dynamics of the classroom, and its link with the local community (not in the content of the curriculum, but in the social attitudes and values communicated in the dialogue). This kind of "schooling" calls for a certain kind of "pupil": passive, yet alert or attentive, and attending. It seemed as though there was a belief in a certain magic associated with merely attending or being present in the classroom, as if the air was charged and would somehow diffuse into the brain and spark genius. Little participation is expected from the pupils, although attention is strictly and often forcefully demanded (as if learning was somehow imbibed in the process of chorusing responses and "sing-song" imitations of teacher). These absurd teaching methods, compounded by an "unreal" curriculum and the denial of linguistic conflicts, were highlights of the charade that went on in the name of "education" in the West Indian classroom. As we see in the passage below, if this hideous scene in the classroom was truly the theater where children perform, rehearsing attitudes and values, learning social skills and gathering knowledge about themselves in relation to society, then it is truly the theater of the absurd:

> Ought oughts are ought
> Ought twos are ought.
>
> The chanting of the children pleased Lal. He believed in thoroughness, discipline and what he delighted to call stick-to-it-ive-ness, virtues he felt unconverted Hindus particularly lacked.
>
> One twos are two,
> Two twos are four.
>
> "Stop!" Lal cried, waving his tamarind rod. "Biswas, ought twos are how much?"
> "Two".
> "Come up here. You, Ramguli, ought twos are how much?"
> "Ought."
> "Come up. That boy with a shirt that looks like one of his mother's bodices, How much?"

"Four."

"Come up." He held the rod at both ends and bent it back and forth quickly. The sleeves of his jacket fell down past dirty cuffs and then wrists black with hair. The jacket was brown but had turned saffron where it had been soaked by Lal's sweat. For all the time he went to school, Mr. Biswas never saw Lal wearing any other jacket.

"Ramguli, go back to your desk. All right, the two of you. All you decide how much ought twos is?"

"Ought", they whispered together.

"Yes, ought twos are ought. You did tell me two." He caught hold of Mr. Biswas, pulled his trousers tight across his bottom, and began to apply the tamarind rod. saying as he beat, "Ought twos are ought. Ought oughts are ought. *One* twos are two."

Mr. Biswas, released went crying back to his desk.

"And now you. Before you talk about anything, tell me where you get that bodice from?"

With its flaming red colour and leg-of-mutton sleeves it was obviously a bodice and had without comment, been recognized as such by the boys, most of whom wore garments not originally designed for them.

"Where you get it from?"

"My sister-in-law."

"And you thank her?"

There was no reply.

"Anyway, when you see your sister-in-law, I want you to give her a message. I want you" - and here Lal seized the boy and started to use the tamarind rod - "I want you to tell her that ought oughts are ought, ought twos are ought, one twos are two, and two twos are four."

Mr.Biswas was taught other things. He learned to say the Lord's Prayer in Hindi from the *King George V Hindi Reader*, and he learned many English poems by heart from the *Royal Reader*. At Lal's dictation he made copious notes which he never seriously believed, about geysers, rift valleys, watersheds, currents, the Gulf Stream, and a number of deserts. He learned about oases, which Lal taught him to pronounce 'osis', and ever afterwards an oasis meant for him nothing more than four or five date trees around a narrow pool of fresh water, surrounded for unending miles by white sand and hot sun. He learned about igloos. In arithmetic he got as far as simple interest and learned to turn dollars and cents into pounds, shillings and pence. The history Lal taught he regarded as simply a school subject, a discipline, as unreal as the geography; and it was from the boy in the red bodice that he first heard, with disbelief, about the Great War.

With this boy, whose name was Alex, Mr. Biswas became friendly. The colours of Alec's clothes were a continual surprise, and one day he scandalized the school by peeing blue, a clear, light turquoise. To excited inquiry Alec replied, "I don't know boy. I suppose is because I is a Portuguese or something." And for days he gave solemn demonstrations which filled most boys with disgust at their race. (pp.41-43)

CHAPTER IV.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND EDUCATION IN TRINIDAD: A HISTORY OF 'CULTURAL IRRELEVANCE'

The unreality of the curriculum taught in Trinidad in V.S.Naipaul's novel, A House for Mr. Biswas, has already been alluded to. Many writers have dedicated pages of similar criticisms to their wives, husbands and children in the course of time. As early as 1833, Mrs. Carmichael writing on Domestic Manners and Conditions of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies has **some** suggestions for the schooling of Negro children. In essence she says that the child must be motivated to learn and that the material of instruction must be relevant to the child. She is an early proponent of the behavior modification system, and although her suggestions may appear crude to our modern sensibilities, and the rewards she suggests divided along gender lines; acknowledgement of her criticism or plan, may have saved a lot of paper, and the repetitious reports of numerous commissions from England may have read very differently in later years. This is what Mrs. Carmichael had to say:

> Negro children are full of life, and fond of show; we must avail ourselves of all the national characteristics, and turn them to a useful account. I found the little I do in the way of prizes, very useful; I had a fixed reward for every one who told the exact truth, even if it were to confess a fault. ...
> Little shewy medals, attached to a shewy suspender, would I am sure incite to learning and good conduct. Quarterly public examinations, where progress would be marked, by little prizes; such as they would at first value - a trifling necklace to the girls; a needle-book; balls of cotton; scissors, or a head-handkerchief: while a knife; a neckerchief; or a piece of jean for a jacket, to the good boys; would be all prizes greatly valued by them. When they could read distinctly, books would be the best

> prizes; but it is to be regretted, that there are so few suited for them; indeed, I know of no entertaining little books fitted for their perusal, without much alteration. The greater part of European life and scenery, is a dead letter to them; and though when explained, they delight to hear of it; yet unexplained, it conveys to them no idea. Even European children in the West Indies feel this; and I cannot give a better illustration than that of my own children, who could read well at four years old, and almost had Mrs. Sherwood's and Miss Edgeworth's books by hear, besides many other children's books; yet, so confused were ideas respecting things on this side of the Atlantic, that when they arrived in England the merest trifles excited their attention, and puzzled and deceived them. They took the handles of the bell-pulls for watches; and were down on their knees, to smell the English roses on the Brussels carpet, on the floor of the hotel we were in at Bristol. If such is the European child, with every advantage; what must be the confusion of ideas in a negro, who reads in a book, adapted to European scenes and ideas, such a multitude of things foreign to him.
> ...Little stories, religious and moral, yet entertaining, might easily be written. They must be accommodated to their understandings, and illustrative of their manners and customs; with correct allusions to the natural history of the islands. Books of this description might be read to them with great benefit, before they could read for themselves - making their hearing the story, a reward to follow their attention to their reading lesson. Negroes so taught throughout all our colonies, would grow up very different from the present middle-aged negro population. I do conceive that without some such expedient as that which I have ventured to hint at, the work of instruction, to whatever hands it is confided, will be tedious and unsatisfactory. Negro children must be kept lively while instruction goes on: anything like prosy teaching, would set them to sleep.
>
> (*A few Words on a Plan for Negro Instruction*, pp.851-852)

In the late nineteenth century J.J.Thomas, a scholar of note in Trinidad described the education system provided in West Indian schools as a servile imitation of English fashions of instruction, and the curriculum he thought hopelessly inapplicable to the training of children in the tropics. J.J.Thomas's name was connected with numerous articles and two books, *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*, New Beacon

Books Ltd., London, c1869, and Froudacity, West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude, New Beacon Books Ltd., c1889.

Thomas's name is inevitably linked with the English historian J.A. Froude, who came to the West Indies on a tour of inspection in 1887 and published his findings in The English in the West Indies or the Bow of Ulysses, London 1888. In this book, Froude's contempt of the majority of the inhabitants of the West Indies, and his firm conviction of the intellectual inferiority of black people was plain to see.

> Thomas not only came to the defence of the men of his race, but took the opportunity to launch an attack: if things had not always gone well in Trinidad, this was not the result of any innate inferiority of the black man, but could be explained very largely by the inept and corrupt personnel - from the governors down the line - sent out by the Colonial Office.
> (J.J.Thomas, 1869, p.vi)

Thomas was particularly critical of the system of education in the West Indies, and felt that the education offered was irrelevant to the children attending schools in Trinidad. He felt that the curriculum offered divorced children from the land and still further, that secondary education was marked by the Englishman's ignorance of foreign languages. It was Thomas's belief that boys should learn Spanish and French, instead of trigonometry and Latin, and a superficial knowledge of the classical world. Still further, the curriculum should include West Indian History and West Indian Geography.

Dr. Eric Williams (1951) echoed the sentiments expressed by J.J. Thomas regarding the curriculum offered to children in West Indian schools. The curriculum in the British West Indian school was not adapted to the needs of the local community and the Education Commission of 1931 is quoted by Williams to illustrate this point:

> 'The real weakness of the primary school at present consists not in its neglect of garden and handwork, but in its failure to concentrate on essentials, and in the lack of adaptation of curriculum to qualifications and capability of the staff. The time-table of the average school is littered with subjects or fragments of subjects that bear no relation to the lives of the pupils or the qualifications and ability of the teacher.'
> The teaching of history and geography included topics such as the Wars of the Roses and the capes of Europe and was based upon text books unsuitable for British West Indian children. According to another report seven years later, education is in the main external to the real life of the people, affecting it from without rather than from within; the best education provided tends to direct the attention and ambitions of its pupils away from their true interests and those of their country. The West India Royal Commission of 1938 called for 'an end of the illogical and wasteful system which permits the education of a community predominantly engaged in agriculture to be based upon a literary curriculum fitting pupils only for white collar careers in which opportunities are comparitively limited ... Curricula are on the whole ill-adapted to the needs of the large mass of the population and adhere far too closely to models which have become out of date in the British practice from which they have been blindly copied.'
> (Williams, 1951, pp.149-150)

Williams (1951) stressed that the education of primary school children was based on a curriculum that was divorced from the real needs of the pupils. At the secondary level the school virtually makes a "fetish" of this unreality.

> Secondary education is so severely restricted to the few that the English education that it provides becomes a sign of class distinction. It is so little an integral part of any national system of education, so little articulated with the primary system, that the director of education in some British West Indian colonies is responsible only for the primary education.
> (Williams, 1951, pp.150-151)

Williams (1951) recommended that the curriculum called for an extended re-examination, and that the omission of anything West Indian was obvious and needed to be reversed. "West Indian history, geography, economics, community organization and problems - West Indian culture, in a word - find no place "(p.152). Williams held the same views as J.J. Thomas with respect to the teaching of foreign languages:

> The average secondary school in the British West Indies teaches French only; Spanish, the language of the neighbouring Caribbean republics, of Puerto Rico, of Central and South America, receives serious recognition - and even that inadequate - only in Trinidad. This is merely a reflection of the Englishman's notorious ignorance of foreign languages and the traditional predominance of French in the English secondary school.
>
> It is almost as if, torn between the mounting criticism of dead languages and the weight of tradition, the schools decided that half a loaf of classics was better than no classics at all or a whole loaf of classics.
>
> (Williams, 1951, p.152)

Another feature of the school system that has received serious criticism is the British colonial practice of taking external examinations from Oxford and Cambridge. Curriculums set by examiners in England were dispensed to the pupils of schools in the colonies, and thus the focus of teaching was directed towards the standards prescribed by these examinations. The notion of whether the material offered in the curriculum packages was of any relevance to the pupils entering the race of scholarship winning, was never given paramount importance. It appeared that the main goal of education was to train candidates for these external examinations. The fact that the failure rate of pupils sitting for the examinations was more than 50% was at times duly considered, but the solutions offered were never seriously entertained by policy makers and the system of external examinations continued.

> Nowhere is there to be found any definition of the aims and objectives of education except in terms of certain subjects to be studied in order to pass certain examinations.

> Education is conceived of as a tree of knowledge which boys and girls are to climb from the lower to the higher branches. The adolescent, to use another figure, is looked upon as a vessel into which knowledge is to be poured in doses varying with the requirements of external examinations. ... A secondary education which is organized to serve the purposes of an external system of examinations is likely to stress the acquisition, often of unintelligently memorized acquisitions, of certain subjects.
>
> (Williams, 1951, p.153)

Of the elementary reading curriculum, Kenneth Ramchand (1970) commented that the materials offered could hardly be considered as a base condition for the reading of imaginative literature. In short, the curriculum material was not designed to encourage children to engage in the process of dialoguing with the subject matter presented. Ramchand commented that the attempts to include material that was culturally relevant to the West Indian pupils were short sighted, as the material was not written in a style that would engage the interest of the children reading this material.

> So little was that (the reading of imaginative literature) even seen as a prospect that Nelson's Royal Readers, which had become established in the islands and which contained a small enough proportion of literary material, were being challenged in the 1890's by Blackies Tropical Readers whose advantage was that they offered agricultural training at the same time as reading practice. So much indeed were those responsible for curriculum committed to a strictly utilitarian principle that the Jamaican Education Commission, 1898, which cannot really be accused of advocating inter-disciplinary studies suggested more than once in their report that 'one Reading Book including the instruction in History and Geography be specially composed.' Without suspecting the incompatibility in their aims if one Reading Book were to serve in this hold-all fashion, the same commission had prefaced their advice as follows: 'We think that Reading requires great improvement, and that greater attention and more time should be devoted to it. It would probably be improved and made more interesting, and at the same time a love of reading might be created...' (Special Report Vol.4, pp.647-69). Physical conditions in the school room, the obligation

> to stand and deliver when the inspector came, and the laborious memorization drills were unpleasant enough to produce poor results and to create antipathy to the very act of reading. The unrelieved factualness of approach to the reading books prevented both pupils and teachers from even a suspicion of the pleasures and possibilities of imagination.
> (Ramchand, 1970, p.24)

J.J.Figueroa (1971) looked at these same assumptions regarding the notion of relevance in reading curriculum material and reading instruction and drew similar conclusions as those made by the numerous critics who have written on this subject. It seemed as though the meaning dimension of the reading process was somehow overlooked by educators, whose concerns with the technical or production aspects of reading predominated while concern for the imaginative and creative or engaging aspects of reading were ignored or rendered less important.

> Until quite recently, for instance, reading tended to be what one might call 'sight reading' or 'sound reading'. Reading was hardly related to any reality or experience the child could recognize; rather it was concerned with encouraging the young to make more or less recognizable noises when presented with text. The teaching of reading is not regularly connected with extracting meaning from the text ... Verbal fluency is much prized, and verbal learning; but little attention is paid to the meaning of the flow of words or to their relevancy to the learner's problems and ideas - whether these spring from the everyday world or from the depths of the learner's imagination or spirit.
> (Figueroa, 1971, pp.104-105)

Knight, Carrington and Borely (1974) reviewed the texts used in Trinidad & Tobago and made these comments on the cultural relevance of reading text books:

> What is certain is that by using books primarily intended for children of another culture, our children are placed at more than one disadvantage. Schonell makes the point that 'a child finds it easier to understand reading material which deals with activities he himself has experienced' ... Our children, many of whom, ironically, use texts written by Schonell, find themselves reading material which deals with activities that neither they, nor anyone around them, have experienced. Learning to read under the present system is thus a more difficult exercise than it ought to be.
> (Knight, Carrington & Borely, 1974, p.29)

The problem of relevance is not as superficial as some authors appear to have thought when writing text books for West Indian children. The insertion of local names, tropical plants and animals, and the swapping of pastels, are only token adaptations that do nought to alter the fundamental problem of cultural relevance. The children must be given their own experience and their own culture which amounts to much more than substituting names and colors in English culture or a foreign perspective. The middle class orientation of text books is no newcomer to schooling, but at times it would appear that teachers have replaced the missionaries in Trinidad (whose aim was in proselytizing Christian dogma) by substituting for the creed a middle class message and style. Middle class "dogma" abounds in the reading texts.

Knight, Carrington & Borely (1974) caution against turning inward by gaining cultural relevance at the expense of excluding information that is not locally generated or routinely experienced. Such cultural inversion or introversion is not the aim of educators at this time.

> Lessons of the informational type have their place as long as the information is of some value or interest to the reader. What has to be constantly asked by the teacher is : whose interests is a

> particular lesson intended to serve? And even though many worthwhile lessons can be found in which the child's curiosity about the world around him is aroused and satisfied, the argument that the child should first become acquainted with his own environment still holds good.
>
> (Knight, Carrington & Borely, 1974, p.30)

The readers used in the school curriculum must allow children who read them to take themselves seriously, and a local perspective is here asserted to be a starting point. The reading material should be written for the child, rather than continuing with the situation that now exists where the child has to adjust for the reader, if the text is to have any meaning at all. To reverse this trend of making the child make the leap to the word and then create a world to fit the words given in textbooks one must start by giving the child the world of existential experience or local reality and when information is given about things or places outside the world routinely experienced by the child, then it would be best to present that information from the West Indian perspective. The reader then, locates the child in Trinidad and Tobago where the child is actually sitting at the time that the reading lesson is in progress.

Given that education is so prized in the Caribbean, it is hardly likely that educational thought and practice would continue without constant re-evaluation to keep pace with the changes in society. Indeed there have been criticisms reverberating through the system of education for decades and what emerges from even a superficial examination of these criticisms, is that the criticisms are repetitious. When reading the numerous reports of commissions of enquiry into the education system in Trinidad and Tobago, one is left with the impression that a template exists that is modified slightly as each new report comes off the press.

In view of the criticisms and the suggestions that have been offered over the time span of popular education in Trinidad and Tobago, the puzzle is not what is wrong with the education system but why nothing much was done about the problems until the last decade. Williams (1951) asserted that the aims of education were tied to the system of external examinations and thus, the aims of education were defined in terms of the requirements of the external system. Carnoy (1974) pointed out that colonies and ex-colonies were dependent on the Center nation in that the center of the Periphery nation was in harmony with the center nation and thus those who designed policy for education were committed to serving the standards that were prescribed abroad. The notion of cultural relevance was unimportant in this context, as education was not to serve the pupil in his or her efforts to understand the needs and problems of the local culture, but to pass examinations that were set by foreigners. Thus, if the aims of education were looked upon in terms of certificates, university entrances, white collar jobs, and the status associated with having an "education", then this was already achieved. Education was the sign of distinction that the successful wore, and "culture" was modelled by those who had left behind the "impediments" of "bad language", "ignorance" and other signs that might link them to the local culture. If education was viewed in this light then the objectives of education were met in supplying the graded batches needed to fill the gaps in the labor force and furnish the social hierarchy in a manner that was accepted as legitimate throughout society.

The idea of education for radical social change, or to develop full human potential, or foster creative expression, or to promote a sense of responsibility towards one's group, or to understand and respect the rights of others, or to develop a critical awareness of socio-cultural structures, or to promote a sense of self in relation to all the social and political configurations in society, seems to have been passed over in favor of traditional models of education. As Carnoy (1974) suggested, the purpose of Western schooling as it was instituted around the world was to make people useful in the industrial hierarchy and not to help develop societal relationships that carried people beyond the class structure. The tools of change and the development of critical awareness or structural awareness are not taught in schools. In brief, schooling does not encourage people to go beyond the capitalist, foreign or other class controlled hierarchy that benefits the relation between the Center nation and the center of the Periphery nation. In this sense then, schooling is not a liberating process but rather a colonizing process, as education in this context is to maintain the status quo by preparing children to fit molds and to shape them to perform predetermined roles and tasks based on their social class. It is here assumed that the knowledge gained in the school is congruent with the values of Western culture and delivered in Standard English which is the articulation of Western values. The knowledge and the language are colonized and thus the hidden messages for the children in the classrooms of Trinidad and Tobago need to be studied in light of the meaning dimensions that are imposed, unwittingly perhaps, through the vehicles of instruction in order to decolonize or demythologize the riddles performed in schools. The myth that education is something sacred and wonderful will only drop from the pedestal of local values when people are made aware of the fact that there is no magic in "education" per se; and when education is commonly recognized as a process of negotiating one's self within one's culture and understanding that the human vocation is to be "Subject" in the process of transforming the world rather than to be assigned the position of "Object" without transforming power. Education in this sense is tradition engaged in an endless conversation with itself and its own recapitulation and is thus always incomplete and open-ended, and thus it cannot be viewed as a possession or something that one has acquired because one has attended institutions for many years. If cultural irrelevance is part of the tradition that has been set into motion in the Trinidad context, then it is time to recapitulate and challenge popular consciousness with new meanings by demythologizing the knowledge that is dispensed in the classrooms and demanding "relevance".

Christopher Searle (1972) insisted that education must place each individual in a tradition and give people a secure sense of cultural belongingness if the child or educand is to go beyond imitation to creative thinking and understanding. Knowledge of self and of others must come within one's particular world and people as it is linked with the transmission of culture. Colonized knowledge which is dispensed in classrooms whenever education comes within any other foreign culture means a dependence and subjection to that culture. Such a practice is an extension of colonialism and absolute reliance on alien standards which are controlled by foreigners. And to the non-white person, white standards of language and culture are essentially oppressive standards which maim and destroy one's belief in one's self.

CHAPTER V.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF SEXISM AND RACISM IN THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ENGLISH SPEAKING SOCIETY.

The socio-political character of woman's condition has rarely been given center-stage, and thus, is not yet fully understood in the drama of Western civilization. Here, it is hoped that by focusing on the relationships of woman in society, the nature or structure of her condition will be better appreciated and thus, a course set for negotiating a way to understanding: A hermeneutic of/for womankind.

In the history of Western civilization, woman has functioned as second citizen. She is defined in the antithesis; the subordinate or the "other" (de Beauvoir, 1961), requiring protection perhaps, but always serving, and seen in relation to the number one sex. Woman is named or defined in terms of her attachment to men and for men not only in the literal sense, as the study of the English language reveals, but in the metaphorical sense. Vivian Gornick (1971) asserted that this pattern of relation has been accepted and carried forward as a tradition from generation to generation, and by one civilization after the demise of another, as one whose inherent "justice" has been decreed, not by the rough approximations of human decision, but rather the profound exactitude of the laws of "nature". In this context the nature and definition of womankind has been/is defined outside the dictates of cultural and political evolution. It would seem, moreover, that the status of woman has more to do with some cosmic plan and as such, her political poverty, her servitude, her "incompleteness", is part of the mystery of the divine, incomprehensible order of things. Men have been able to decipher some of the threads of the divine riddle, and there are some threads of which they are certain; the inferiority of woman was easily worked out ... or thus it would seem.

This perception of the categorical inferiority of one group of humans by another group is as old as recorded time. It has been necessary to stereotype individuals in order to colonize them and the attitudes toward them. Degradation through stereotyping or throwing a group of humans into a single mold is part of the process of colonization for it fosters acceptance of the fact that inequities of power are part of this mutual relationship. Instances of such occurrences have rarely been contested, as the rationale for this inequality is commonly believed to be ordained by an authority beyond men and thus, stamped with a cosmic explainer,it has a legitimacy that remains unexamined. Vivian Gornick (1971) illustrates this point with the examples of gross inequities of power over the period of human history. The ancients slept peacefully at night "knowing" that slavery was ordained by the heavens. As such, slaves were slaves, because that was "inevitable". Free citizens had a birthright to direct slaves to sculpture the environment according to their plans, and in so doing, dominate a labor pool of unfree men and women. The nobility of the middle ages believed in the "divine right of kings" along with the "inevitability" of serfs, who lived in subhuman conditions and benefited the nobility with their labor. In modern history, white men subjugated black people and behaved as though the inequality was obvious and that such an order merely reflected the "fact" that whites ruled by virtue of their "natural" superiority. J.A.Froude, the English historian who wrote a book on The English in the West Indies or the Bow of Ulysses (London, 1888) had little but contempt for the black person and was convinced of the inferiority of black people generally.

The sentiments of J.A.Froude were shared by the planter class in Trinidad and one can only guess at the extent to which these views permeated the English speaking world at that time. To stamp the black person as "naturally inferior" was part of the process of legitimizing the colonization of black people by the Europeans generally and by the English in particular.

What comes as no surprise then, is that the "natural order of things" ordains the status quo; those "lucky chaps" in superior positions have by grace been assigned power and authority over others! To challenge the existing power structure, or status quo, in this context is no mortal offence, but rather, is seen as an affront to the "divine plan". When members of the "inferior" categories, or status positions in society have surged forward to announce their full humanity to those in the "superior" camp, they have been seen (and are still seen) as challenging the "natural order". The defence of the status quo is not selfish on the part of the superior camp, but on the contrary, a righteous defence in the name of the heavens. To disturb this order is to invite the wrath of the creator to rise up and reverse such "folly and wickedness" (to use the words that Queen Victoria employed to describe feminists in her day). Heaven only knows how many wars have been fought on her behalf in the course of human history, restoring what was "surely" the right and proper social structure. In this framework of perceptions of reality or myth, the division of labor and power is not an earthly decision as this hymn would indicate:

> God made men high and lowly
> And ordered their estate,

... an often sung slogan in Third World churches.

The notion of "woman" has been colonized and as such woman has been seen as Object rather than as Subject in the human vocation of transforming the world in the course of human history. However, woman is now challenging "civilized" order for her full humanity, having suffered a deprivation of recognition by somehow always residing behind the scenes, and as such, never getting the spot light of center-stage in the drama of human history. Those women who have gained eminence (and are grafted onto the stem of historical monuments, the "worthies" , in Malmo, 1979) are exceptions who conform more to the masculine prescription of greatness.

Within the last decade feminist writers have criticized the mainstream historical record for its inadequate and inaccurate treatment of women, as well as its apparent failure to understand woman's condition. Kelly-Gadol (1977) asserted that :

> Traditional histroy lacks an understanding of women's situation because it has considered civilization to be making war, wealth, laws, government, art and science, all activities that women have largely been excluded from.
> (Kelly-Gadol, 1977, p.810)

Smith-Rosenberg (1975) added that women have been "marginal" in this tradition building enterprize; not visible in the public sphere, and thus beyond the realm of significance.

Other historians have attributed this incredible neglect of women to the male orientation in the record of things important. Traditional historians, predominantly male, have utilized categories and a periodization that is exclusively masculine by definition, and given primary status to the world of power, politics and economic affairs:

> Because most women have lived without access to the means of social definition and have worked outside the spheres of reward and recognition, they have not had a history as historians have defined the term. Men, given the traditional definition of historical significance, have been active; women, passive.
> (Gordon et al, 1975, quoted in Malmo, 1979, p.1)

In every real, as well as metaphorical sense, woman has been "absent". Nowhere is she actively present; nowhere in the structures of law, morality, religions, in the system of science, philosophy, and aesthetics, in the developing expressiveness of the art that marks man's struggle to identify himself, is woman's presence, or being, or perception of reality fully felt.

> As man lives his life, observing it as he goes, he is substantially creating it; at this creation woman has to be marked absent.
> (Gornick, 1971, p. 17)

Woman and her attributes seem to be male creations; as if the ancient Pygmalion were there to construct her ... and for the whole of history to continually reconstruct her. (Pygmalion, in ancient Greek mythology, was a man who loathed women, so he fashioned from stone the perfect woman, that no real woman could match, then fell in love with his creation, rather than with a woman of flesh and blood, coping with reality). In this whole scheme, "man" is the SYMBOLIZER and "woman" the SYMBOLIZED, or to put the scheme in another framework, "man" is the COLONIZER and "woman" the COLONIZED.

The powerful inequities inherent in socio-political reality have never gone completely unacknowledged by those in authority. That women, blacks and other oppressed groups existed and were growing more restive as civilization "progressed" was duly noted. Oppressed groups, colonized by the system of values in Western society, who were demanding "human rights" in the United States were labelled "problems" or "questions". The certain poverty and anger of a growing and politically conscious group was somehow diffused by the employment of the terms "the Negro/ Black Problem" and "the Woman Question".

In the United States, the "Negro Problem" was translated by blacks into "RACISM", and the "Woman Question" by women into "SEXISM"; thus announcing the political nature of their "inferior" conditions. In psychoanalysis, ironically enough, it has long been assumed that labelling a "problem" by its "correct" name, is the first step towards an insight into the structure or nature of the "problem". Thus, recognizing the political nature of the "problem" or "question" as powerlessness; and still further, recognizing the dialectical relationship in a system where power conceives of itself as predicated on the continuing life of the powerless, is vital to an appreciation of understanding of the Women's Liberation Movement, and the impetus of that movement, and the rationale for Black Power towards Black Liberation.

Women's groups and civil rights groups began the long march forward, directing their efforts at public education, designed to raise conscious awareness through the process of logical analysis or structural analysis. These groups endeavored to show that the inequities that existed were not divorced from, but intimately connected to, the structure of Western culture. It was thought that a goal which promoted freedom, using cultural forms and a rational forum would only be welcomed in a "democracy" which had been described as the land of hope and liberty; a nation of truth lovers who abhor inequality and oppression of any kind. The truth that emerged, however, was that words such as liberty or freedom, were part of a national rhetoric, a cultural slogan or ideology. Action along the lines set down by the theme however, soon acquired a different set of labels that equated more with destruction, inferred smears, and even heresy. These "revolutionaries" were challenging "nature" and attempting to erode the pristine values of Western society; besides, everyone "knew" that they were genetically inferior, and "naturally" unsuited to positions of power and responsibility. "Equality" was an ideal or belief, but somehow everyone "knew" that "some are more equal than others" and some are "equal but different". These myths had been internalized by members of Western culture and it was evident to those challenging established order for equal rights and recognition, that the struggle was not simply a matter of explaining the fact that inequality was dimensioned along ethnic and gender lines.

When Sigmund Freud (1923) issued the general thesis or principle that "anatomy is destiny", he was not playing poet, using "anatomy" as a metaphor for the underlying socio-political structure of the body of society, nor the structure of our language or cultural mythology; he was playing straight and was literally referring to the structure of woman's body, as the root or cause of her "inferior" status. And, although Freud's theory of psychosexual development was revolutionary, in that it was a challenge to Puritanism, it was not FOR women, but a new mythology that was to depoliticize, once again, the nature of the "problem". Freud, far from challenging Western patriarchal ideology, reinstated the theme by channelling misery into metaphors of medical mythology, under the categories of "mental illness". In this scheme of things, once labelled "sick", the "patient" is defined as needing protection and an atmosphere where one can "adjust" and "adapt"; the "sick" are "rehabilitated". Feminist writers (such as Smith & David, 1975, and Foreman, 1977) ciriticized psychoanalytic theory and explained that under this rubric, misery or unhappiness, whatever its source, was hygenically quarantined, and thus subverted, served only to promote the established order or status quo. The language of psychoanalysis, according to feminists, reasserted traditional values.

As Blacks and Women explored their "neuroses", their "pathologies", their "weaknesses" and their "failures", however, a pattern emerged; their miseries, once exposed, contributed to a fund of common woes. The picture that emerged when private "problems" were brought into the open was that beyond electoral politics, beyond status and prestige, money and real power, there were politics of role relationship, and more subtle, and thus more pervasive and final, the politics of personality. The attitudes and values that one adopts in negotiating self within a culture that is white and patriarchal at the top, are internalized in the process of socialization and enculturation and thus, it is the politics of personality that routinely maintains social order. People do not choose to be economically and culturally exploited or dispossessed, they must be colonized to accept their subordinate roles, and to negotiate their identities within the institutions of Western society. Thus, liberation is not merely a political process which filters down through changes at the level of government but involves a psychological dimension. People who have been colonized to accept their femininity or their racial inferiority and their dependence on the benevolent elements in Western society do not know how to behave in a liberated condition. For Carnoy(1974)"decolonization, or liberation demands personal and societal struggles which go far beyond lowering one flag and raising another." (pp.19-20)

Stereotypes and caricatures of women and blacks have been part of the unconscious perpetuation of myths inherent in the symbol systems of Western culture. Stereotypes have been used to degrade people and to structure human thinking so that individuals come to accept the images assigned to them in the language and the myths of their culture or the culture that dominates in their society.

A double standard exists in Western society which differentially affects individuals in a systematic way. Those individuals, whose fortune it is to be "legitimate" heirs of power, privilege and prestige, negotiate an identity as dominators or colonizers, in the process of incorporating cultural myths or values, while the same images relegate women and blacks to the status of "others" or somehow marginal to the dominant group. Thus, colonization is not only physical but symbolic and racism and sexism are forms of symbolic colonization occurring within nations and functioning to maintain social order. The attitudes and prejudices levelled at "oppressed" groups are the products of deeply entrenched and extraordinarily pervasive cultural (and therefore political and economic) decisions. Oppressed groups are not "marginal" to society, but on the contrary, they are denied selfhood and access to economic and political power within the society . Each individual is born into a chapter in history, a tradition, a culture and negotiates an identity within the matrix of symbols and cultural forms. The "marginal" groups in society are those who have to negotiate themselves within a system of values or culture that is dominated by a group that is inaccessible to them, or conversely, dominated by a group who have ruled out the possibility of access. "Marginal" people are not "legitimate" members of the dominant group and so the consciousness of the powerless groups must be socialized to accept their predetermined positions in society..

Sexism, like racism, has evolved along the lines of Western cultural structures, which has conceived of and created a mythology that functions to reify the existing structure. Thomas (1977) asserted that the myth of the inferiority of females has become a reflection of reality because of the cultural transmission of gender inequality. Women are constructed in language, and thus in consciousness, as beings utterly denied a selfhood, autonomy or confidence. Gornick (1971) asserted that the myth IS our REALITY, as women have been colonized to accept the definition of "woman" and have shared acquiescently in the cultural tradition. Western patriarchal society, according to Millet (1972) and Gornick (1971) has defined "woman" as the mirror image of "man".

Values pertaining to "woman" have developed like other cultural characteristics; they have been translated into institutions, petrified by customs and manners and reified by centuries of adherence. Every society has its peculiar way of defining and perceiving reality and in human society the symbol system of language overarches the cultural perception of reality. Each role carries with it a universe of discourse, broadly given by cultural definition, but continually reactualized in the ongoing conversations of everyday life.

> The cultural or political system, however, is not a closed system, nor is society one dimensional. But the power of the system consists precisely in the fact of APPEARING closed and one-dimensional. Language is infused with predefinitions, it is true, but cleavages in the transmission of the dominant value system and the values themselves have to be deciphered and eventually acted upon through an

> analysis of what kind of socialization processes allows which groups to circumvent repressive communication and integration into society. This analysis cannot, however, be separated from the study of language that constitutes the parameter within which the individuation process takes place.
> (Mueller, 1970, p.111)

Ambivalence arises when Women and Blacks distantiate themselves from their embeddedness in the cultural definitions of themselves, and abstract FOR themselves the structure of their condition. But, it is inevitable that this step outside of the standardized traditional scheme is thus a challenge to traditional values and beliefs, or even worse, a challenge of "nature" (herself). It appears "inappropriate" for Women and Blacks to be publicly angry, or assertive, or to intelligently redefine themselves as beings worthy of equal status to the dominant group in Western society.

A. Language: The Symbolic Base of Society

> Words are magical in the way they affect the
> minds of those who use them.
> They have the power to mold men's thinking, to
> canalize their feeling, and to direct their
> willing and acting.
> Aldous Huxley

Language can aptly be likened to the blood stream of the cultural body of society; not only does it flow through history, politics, and the various social assemblages and institutions, but it absorbs, and reflects attitudes and values inherent in the total system. Language, then, is the vehicle of self and cultural expression and the matrix of thought in that culture. As such, it is the medium and instrumental in the shaping of ideas and perceptions of human reality. Language transmits culture, it reinforces the dominant ideologies or myths and thus has a stabilizing influence for those of the community who share its meanings. Frantz Fanon (1952) asserted that when we speak, we exist absolutely for another, as we are engaging in a process that carries forward a culture, and buttresses the weight of a tradition or civilization. If, the English language is the current of thought in Western society, then it would not be surprising to find that biases are inherent in the words adopted by members of the community to negotiate our identities within our Western context. Thus, Western society (which is patriarchal and white at the top) would be served by a language that reinforces sexism and racism. Language serves the established order, but it is not a closed system and it can be used to transcend traditional meanings that have the appearance of being closed systems of meaning.

B. The Racist Bias of Our Language

When the words "black" and "white" are used, one immediately associates meanings with them. These terms connote polar opposites, not only on the color chart or spectrum, but also on the chart of metaphors and cultural myths. **The play on words** to follow serves to illustrate how these words may enter the stage of consciousness and dimension certain meanings. Words, like tools, are used differently and they have a potency or impact which is differently experienced as a function of who is receiving the communication.

> Some may blackly (angrily) accuse him of trying to blacken (defame) the English language, to give it a black eye (a mark of shame) by writing such black words (hostile). They may denigrate (cast aspersions; to darken) him by accusing him of being blackhearted (malevolent), of having a black outlook (pessimistic, dismal) on life, of being a blackguard (scoundrel) - which would certainly

> be a black mark (detrimental fact) against him. Some may black brow (scowl at) him and hope that a black cat crosses in front of him because of his black deed. He may become a black sheep (one who causes shame or embarrassment because of deviation from the accepted standards), who will be blackballed (ostracized) by being placed on a blacklist (list of undesirables) in an attempt to blackmail (to force or coerce into a particular action) him to retract his words. But attempts to blackjack (to compel by threat) him will have a Chinaman's chance of success, for he is not a yellow-bellied Indian giver of words, who will whitewash (cover up or gloss over vices or crimes) a black lie (harmful, inexcusable). He challenges the purity and innocence (white) of the English language. He doesn't see things in black and white (entirely bad or entirely good) terms, for he is a white man (marked by upright firmness) if there ever was one. However, it would be a black day when he would not 'call a spade a spade' even though some will suggest a white man calling the English language racist is like the pot calling the kettle black. While many may be niggardly (grudging, scanty) in their support, others will be honest and decent - and to them he says, that's very white of you (honest and decent).
>
> The preceding is of course a white lie (not intended to cause harm), meant only to illustrate some examples of racist terminology in the English language.
> (Moore, 1976, p.6)

The symbols of "black" and "white", and the references to "other" groups of people, termed "minority groups", makes obvious the colonizing values transmitted along the lines of language. It cannot be overemphasized that we do not receive words in a computer-like mechancial fashion, but rather, we express ourselves to others in words, and we label who we are with words and thus, we are affected by the meaning structure of the words available for social discourse, or the discourse that we engage in when we are defining ourselves.

The English language has a sexist and a racist current in its flow and Moore (1976) illustrates this point :

> Three of the dictionary definitions of white are 'fairness of complexion, purity, innocence.' These definitions affect the standards of beauty in our culture, in which whiteness represents the norm. 'Blondes are more fun' and 'wouldn't you really rather be a blonde' are sexist in their attitudes toward women generally, but are racist white standards when applied to third world women. A 1971 Madamoiselle advertisement pictured a curly headed, ivory-skinned woman over the caption, 'When you go blonde, go all the way', and asked: 'Isn't this how, in the back of your mind, you always wanted to look? All wide-eyed and silky blonde down to there, and innocent?' Whatever the advertizing people meant by this particular woman's innocence, ... one must remember that 'innocent' is one of the definitions of the word white. This standard of beauty when preached to all women is racist. The statement 'Isn't this how, in the back of your mind, you always wanted to look?' either ignores third world women or assumes they long to be white.
>
> (Moore, 1976, p.7)

Ethnocentrism, which here implies a white perspective, is pervasive in the English language. David Burgest (1973) here illustrates how terms are used to create different psychological impacts. Take the example: "The Master raped his slave."

> Implicitly in the English usage of the 'master-slave' concept is ownership of the 'slave' by the 'master', therefore, the 'master' is merely abusing his property. In reality, the captives (slave) were African individuals with human worth, right and dignity thereby making the mass rape of African women by white captors more acceptable in the minds of people and setting a mental frame of reference for legitimizing the atrocities perpetuated against African people.
>
> (Burgest, 1973, quoted in Moore, 1976, p.8)

If different terms connote different meanings, so too does the use of tense. Thomas Greenfield (1975) pointed out that the achievements of black people were relegated invisible by the use of the passive tense.

> The linguistic ghetto of the passive voice, the subordinate clause, and the 'understood' subject. The seemingly innocuous distinction (between active/passive voice) holds enormous implications for writers and speakers. When it is effectively applied, the rhetorical impact of the passive voice - the art of making the creator or investigator of action totally disappear from the reader's perception - can be devastating.
>
> (Greenfield 1975, quoted in Moore 1976, p.8)

The making of minority groups invisible in the tale of human history is not exclusively linguistic, but the linguistic representations underline the ethnocentric and gender bias in traditional history. Women and Blacks were somehow glossed over in the record of human monuments and so the transforming power of human association with the world was rarely attributed to them.. As each generation addressed the record of the past, capturing the tradition that had been evolved over time, the meaning dimension of the era was carried forward along a white male theme, our cultural perspective. Eric Erikson (1963) pointed out that to the white man's notion of history and society, the black person's only successful identity has been that of a slave, and it is very often the language of the white culture that imposes and perpetuates this notion (in Searle, 1972, p.49)

C. Language and Power

Word realism is a powerful instrument in the shaping of mental images and labelling reality. Politics and the terminology employed to explain and categorize reality are inextricably meshed. In North America, terms such as "culturally deprived", "economically disadvantaged" and "underdeveloped" have political dimensions, and their use is broadcasting values that colonize our consciousness. The major assumption here is that the white middle class group is the "cultured class" and that deviation or difference from this norm is therefore "deprived". In other words, there is a chauvinism in the use of these terms. Often, the meanings implied are erroneous, as Third World children are, more often than not, bi-cultural or multi-cultural, equipped with skills and perspectives that white children have missed out on in their mono-cultural environment. For the white children an advantage is apparent in that the culture that has power and meaning, or capital value is the Western culture articulated by and through the English language. If we play with these concepts and substitute for "culturally deprived" the term "culturally dispossessed or culturally alienated" another perspective emerges. Similarly, for "economically disadvantaged" replace with the term "economically exploited", and the beginning of countering the popular trend of "blaming the victim" is asserted. Labelling phenomena is a powerful strategy for creating meanings and psychological impacts, and by using different terms old labels can become obsolete by falling into disuse, as opposed to misuse. Word realism is an important dimensioning factor in structuring socio-political reality as Moore (1976) has demonstrated.

Labels have been employed to legitimize white codes of values and beliefs. One example that is pertinent in Trinidad (and many other nations) is the labelling of religions. The ethnocentrism of the planter class (the colonizers), is evident in announcing Christianity as the legitimate religion. In this way group cohesion or solidarity was reinforced by positive labels for their own belief system (the in-group) and powerfully repellent labels for different beliefs or practices (the out-groups). The words "heathen" and "pagan" did not refer to the symbolic fabric of Hinduism and Islam, but acted as labels that connoted the wildest fantasies for Christians. Themes associated with these labels were; unenlightened, primitive, barbaric, polytheistic, unconverted, given to orgiastic celebrations, fertility cults, idolatry, illegitimacy, evil inspired, ignorant and all those other terms that Christians view as unorthodox, heretical and disgusting (particularly the latter). In summary, Christianity signifies civilization and superiority,and things "pagan" or "heathen" signifies things primitive and inferior.

> Christian symbolism has always venerated whiteness: the dove, the lamb, the robe, the white brightness of purity and holiness. 'God is light', only the evil is dark. Christianity, essentially and historically a white man's religion, is built on the vindication of whiteness and white symbols.
> ... The Church was very effective in the vanguard of colonialism: as no black Christian proselyte wanted a black soul. Christianity seemed to give the possibility of becoming white, eternally white: in the next world. It offered black skins, white souls.
> (Searle, 1972, p.7)

Aimé Césaire in Discourse on Colonialism (1972 translation) says that "colonization = 'thingification' "(p.21) and still further that the impetus for international expansion was for the advantage of the colonizer:

> In a time gone by, Léon Bloy innocently became indignant over the fact that swindlers, perjurers, forgers, thieves and procurers were given the responsibility of 'bringing to the Indies the example of Christian virtues'. (p.26)

Aimé Césaire (1972) attacks the myths that have vindicated the colonizers of any selfish intent in the process of international expansion:

> In other words, the essential thing here is to see clearly - that is, dangerously - and to answer clearly the innocent first question: what, fundamentally, is colonization? To agree on what it is not : Neither

> evangelization, nor a philanthropic enterprize, nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease and tyranny, nor a project undertaken for the greater glory of God, nor an attempt to extend the rule of law. To admit once for all, without flinching at the consequences, that the decisive actors here are the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the ship owner, the gold digger and the merchant, appetite and force, and behind them, the baleful projected shadow of a form of civilization which at a certain point in its history, finds itself obliged, for internal reasons, to extend to a world scale the competition of its antagonistic economies.
>
> Pursuing my analysis, I find that hypocrisy is of recent date; that neither Cortez discovering Mexico for the top of the great teocalli, nor Pizzaro before Cusco (much less Marco Polo before Cambaluc), claims that he is the harbringer of a superior order; that they kill; that they plunder; that they have helmets, lances, cupidities; that the slavering apologists came later; that the chief culprit in this domain is Christian pedantry, which laid down the dishonest equations Christianity = civilization, paganism = savagery, from which there could not but ensue abominable colonialist and racist consequences, whose victims were to be the Indians, the yellow peoples, and the Negroes. (Césaire, 1972, pp.10-11)

Moore (1976) has insisted that the English language is colonized for the colonizer and by the colonizer:

> (Language) ... has as much to do with the philosophy and political conditioning of a society as geography and climate ... People in western cultures do not realize the extent to which their racial attitudes have been conditioned since early childhood by the power of words to ennoble or condemn, augment or detract, glorify or demean. Negative language infects the subconsciousness of most western people from the time they first learn to speak. Prejudice is not merely imparted or superimposed. It is metabolized in the bloodstream of society. What is needed is not so much a change in language as an awareness of the power of words to condition attitudes. If we can at least recognize the underpinnings of prejudice, we may be in a position to deal with the effects.
>
> (Moore, 1976, p.9)

Recognizing that racism and sexism are inherent in the language of our social discourse, is a first step in the process of demythologizing the words we select.

D. Gender Language: A Socio-cultural Perspective

Interest in the different relations of the sexes to the language is hardly new. Jesperson cited differences in woman's and men's forms of speech in the Carib culture as early as 1664. However, it is not our purpose here to look at sex differences in language per se, but to concentrate on the manner in which our language facilitates the enactment and transmission of every type of inequality, with special reference to gender based inequality.

Weber (1969 translation) defined power as the chances of one actor in a social relationship to impose his or her will on another actor. And more recently, Berger and Luckmann (1966) have extended this definition, seeing power as a question of potentially conflicting definitions of reality; that the most powerful will be "made to stick". Fishman (1979) asserted that power to construct and enforce definitions of reality is due to socially prevalent economic and political definitions of reality. At the micro-level, power is the product of human activities, just as the activities are themselves products of the wider cultural scheme. Power and hierarchical relations are not abstracted forces operating on people in some miraculous or supernatural manner, but human accomplishments situated in everyday interaction. Both structural forces and interactional activities are vital to the maintenance and continuous reconstruction of social reality.

When Nilsen (1972) took herself on an "archeological excursion", wading through the verbal artifacts in the English dictionary, her findings indicated that men were indeed the more prized of the species:

> The male is associated with the universal, the general, the subsuming; the female is more often excluded or is the special case. Words associated with males more often have positive connotations; they convey notions of power, prestige, and leadership. In contrast, female words are more often negative, conveying weakness, inferiority, immaturity, a sense of the trivial. Terms applied to women are narrower in reference than those applied to men, they are more likely to assume derogatory sexual connotations which overshadow other meanings (Schulz,1975; Lakoff,1973). This derogation and over-generalization, Schulz observes is related to the process of stereotyping and - is also present in other situations of dominance, e.g., racial and ethnic situations.
>
> (Thorne & Henley, 1975, p.15)

Women's language appears to reflect the stereotypes assigned to them; being "polite"; upholding "correct grammar" and has a quality of being "proper"

> Lakoff (1973) describes women's language as generally more 'polite' than that of males; Brend (1972) points to 'polite cheerful' patterns of intonation ...; women do not swear as much as men, and may be less likely to use slang (Jesperson 1922; Flexner 1960). Whereas in phonological variants, ... women, compared with men of the same social class, age, and level of education, more often choose the form closer to prestige, or 'correct' way of talking...
>
> (Thorne & Henley, 1975, p.17)

These findings may at first glance lend the impression that they contradict the notion that women are subordinate to men in the wider social context. A more careful analysis, however, reveals that being "correct" and "proper" does not equate with power, but rather with prestige. Goffman (1956) demonstrated that power and prestige are not necessarily linked. For example, in hospital situations, it is the doctors in the establishment who have the privilege of swearing, changing the topic of conversation, lounging in their chairs, and on the whole behaving in a more relaxed manner. The staff attending the doctor, however, are more careful and less relaxed.

> The notion that women should be 'nice' and 'ladies', that they should carefully monitor their behavior, functions as a strong mechanism of social control
> (Quoted in Thorne & Henley, 1975, p.18)

In the study conducted by Fishman (1979) it was found that it was the men who directed the course of conversations, and the women who did all the "work" in intimate situations (even though the men in her study reported that they sympathized with the Women's Movement, and believed in the sharing of household chores, etc.).

Trudgill (1972) offered the explanation that it is precisely because women are subordinate that they use more standard forms of speech; in this way, women are compensating for their subordination by signalling status linguistically. The same is often true of speakers from Third World countries, such as Trinidad where fluency in Standard English is a mark of distinction or class. Women who are dependent for their status on the occupational level of husbands are even more conscious of speech signals. This signalling is not limited to language usage, but generalizes to external signals, such as gestures, manners, dress or fashion, physical appearance, and of course, the "cargo of culture" paraded for social definition and prestige. Refined speech signals very different messages for men. Correctness of speech is often labelled "effeminate" and regarded with considerable disdain. If a male's speech is said to be "affected", his very masculinity or sexual orientation is called into question. The point that emerges from the study of speech is that gender identity corresponds with the tongue. The male using "female" or "affected" speech is stigmatized, while the female using male forms is taken more seriously, and is more often attended to, than the woman using "correct" speech style (Lakoff, 1973, pp.81-115). Linguistic signalling has a strong psychological dimension which is attached to gender and gender identity.

E. Language and Labor: Gender Marking in the Work Force

Anthropologists have yet to discover a society where women are publicly recognized as the equals of men, although they have found exceptions to the rule at different points in time. The legitimate place for women appears to be a subordinate one, and the main difference between cultures is more one of degree of inequality, i.e., some women are even less equal than others according to Rosaldo (1974). Even in Western society where there is such an emphasis on birth control, a high degree of technology, and labor saving devices, employment is distinctly segregated along gender lines (although women are beginning to enter occupations that have long been recognized as masculine). The prevailing attitude that everyone "knows" deep down, is that the "real" place for women is in the home. Language faithfully reflects this trend:

> Women, even within non-family settings are defined by their relationships to men, for example, by being titled Mrs. or Miss. In a computerized analysis of five million words drawn from children's school books it was found that, although there are seven times as many men as women in the books, the word mother occurs more frequently than father, and wife three times as often as husband - when women are referred to, it is mainly in relationship to men and children.
>
> (quoted in Thorne & Henley, 1975, p.25)

Nilsen (1972) also found that men were more often associated with professional occupations, and where there were females associated, feminine agentives and suffixes (e.g., -ette) have repeatedly taken on derogatory or facetious connotations.

F. Language and Change

> 'When I use a word', Humpty Dumpty said in rather scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less.'
> 'The question is,' said Alice, 'Whether you can make words mean so many different things.'
> 'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is the master - that's all.'
> Lewis Caroll

As language is so intricately intertwined with social order, there is some hope that changing labels or label meanings, could be the beginnings of real change. The question is; can linguistic alterations disturb the status quo?

If language be the bloodstream of the social, political, economic and cultural body, then changes in the bloodstream can effect changes in the body; as a function of the body's ability to accept or reject, or even eliminate "foreign" substances. Speech, then , is a form of action, and not simply a faithful reflection of the underlying social order:

> To call people Mrs. or Miss. is to help maintain a definition of women that relegates them primarily to family roles. To use he or she, rather than he, for sex indefinite antecedents is a tangible gesture of including, rather than excluding women from consciousness. Males who consistently interrupt females in conversation are engaging in acts of social domination. In short, verbal and nonverbal communication patterns are not simply epiphenomena; they help establish, transmit, and maintain male dominance. Language change is obviously not the whole story, but it is certainly a part of social change.
> (Thorne & Henley, 1975, p.25)

In conclusion, language is intimately related to the consciousness that exists within society, and it is important to examine the structure of values channelled through language and how these values are integrated into one's personality or identity.

> Thoughtis dependent upon the ground of language insofar as language is not merely a system of signs for the purpose of communication and transmission of information. Where there is real language, the thing to be designated is not known prior to the act of designation. Rather, within our relationship to the world, that which is spoken of is itself first articulated through language's constitutive structuring of our being-in-the-world. Speaking remains tied to the language as a whole, the hermeneutic virtuality of discourse which surpasses at any moment that which has been said. It is precisely in this respect that speaking always transcends the linguistically constituted realm within which we find ourselves.
> ... The task of hermeneutic theory does not therefore consist of the constitution of understanding. Understanding is already given in the reality of language. The only task hermeneutics may reasonably hope to fulfill is to discover how, exactly, meanings are constituted and sustained in language and the endless linguistic sociation.
>
> (Gadamer, 1976, in Bauman, 1978, p.171)

G. The Symbol System and Education

Education or understanding may be regarded as tradition engaged in an endless conversation with itself and its own recapitulation, always incomplete and open-ended, and possible only as an unfinished, future oriented activity. In this context education or educators cannot ignore the unfortunate constraints placed on the process of educating by prejudgments and the values that are shaped by tradition, as these are the tools with which understanding can be attained. For Gadamer (1976) understanding derives its actuality from the historical totality in which it is immersed. Meanings are produced or created out of the endless relations inside this totality. In the dialogue that we refer to as education, it is not the ego of the individual, whether that ego be empirical or transcendental, that conjures up meanings out of individual intentions, but the fact of existence. Meanings are, in a sense, performed by the world. Thus, mastery of the supra-individual totality of meanings enshrined in the language or symbol system of a culture is the key to understanding that goes beyond a concept of information flow to one of discovery. Understanding is already given in the reality of symbols, and meanings are constituted in and sustained in the symbol system of one's culture.

In this thesis, prejudgment in traditional values or meanings is brought into focus. The notions that are associated with race or ethnicity and sex or gender are part of the meanings that are constituted and sustained by language and endless linguistic sociation. By directing attention to stereotypes in the reading curriculum materials, it is hoped that the nature and structure of meanings associated with sex and race will emerge and that awareness of the constraints imposed by cultural or traditional values may be re-evaluated as oppressive or value laden, rather than neutral or value free "facts". Stereotypes related to ethnicity and gender are part of our linguistic heritage, and therefore, part of the information that individuals use in the process of self discovery as well as the discovery of "reality" which is also dimensioned by the words we use. For Friere (1970) the human reality is never directly encountered, but an encounter that is retarded by thought and interpretation as encounters are translated by the actor. For humans, then, existence is immersed in myths, as the human mode of being-in-the-world is representative and rational or intelligent rather than instinctive or reflexive. Humans cannot escape the myths inherent in the culture, or cultures experienced, but the meanings articulated in the symbol systems of societies can be re-examined and re-interpreted. By examining the myths that are inherent in the concepts of ethnicity and gender, humans can transcend traditional meanings by remythologizing these notions, and the articulation of self within the process of creating new myths and discarding the old. Stereotypes are powerful in that they have the appearance of being closed or one-dimensional. In the process of reviewing the structure of stereotypes it is possible to counter the rigidity and apparent closure of meanings related to sex and race, and place these concepts within other philosophies or traditions in an effort to liberate our thinking, as well as the attitudes and values that we have internalized in the process of socialization and enculturation.

Understanding the dimensions of stereotypes is one step towards decolonizing consciousness. The human personality, in this framework, is not seen as predetermined by biological structure or anatomy, but rather a dialectical relationship between biological and cultural factors. In a sense the individual personality is discovered as one negotiates one's self within the cultural fabric and through the articulation of one's self through language and cultural symbols. If the knowledge that is given in the cultural context is colonized or stereotyped, then it is likely that the personality of the individual will be affected by the prescriptions for himself or herself. Thus the human biography cannot be divorced from human history, especially the evolution of meanings and the politics of those meanings that we refer to as tradition.

CHAPTER VI

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF READING TEXTBOOKS USED IN THE TRINIDAD & TOBAGO PRIMARY SCHOOLS FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE PRESENT.

GENDER AND ETHNICITY : DIFFERENCE AND DOMINANCE AS RECURRING THEMES

It has already been asserted that the curriculum materials used in the school context are value laden and culture bound rather than inert or culture free. The culture that has value in the classroom conforms to the models of Western society, particularly that of English culture. Historically, the school system was instituted by the British Colonial government and the curriculum issued to West Indian children was not adapted to the needs of the local community and ignored the cultural differences that existed between the inhabitants of metropolitan England and the inhabitants of the colonies. Thus, English language and English values were incorporated into the textbooks that were used for reading instruction. The images given in the text were divorced from the existential world of the child in the West Indian setting, and still further, the images conformed to the structure of dominance in the English speaking culture. This arrangement is an extension of cultural imperialism or colonization as children are immersed in a foreign culture that is alien to the local culture and thus alienating for the child. Cultural irrelevance is not simply a matter of curriculum content, as this concept ignores the psychological dimension of the enculturation process which is more profound than the label "cultural irrelevance" implies. The crux of "cultural irrelevance" is the broken development of children in the classroom and the alienation imposed by the classroom experience.

The dynamic relationship of teacher and pupil and the interpolation of curriculum materials is an important arrangement in the learning process. The curriculum materials, then, are part of the exchange or transaction that takes place in the classroom and thus best seen in this dynamic frame, rather than as products or ends in themselves. The matter of cultural irrelevance in the textbooks that have been written and that are being used in the Trinidad and Tobago School System has already been subjected to numerous criticisms. The analysis of the content of the readers in terms of the portrayal of ethnicity and gender is merely another effort toward the understanding of the meanings that are given in tools of instruction.

From the outset, it is asserted that the role of the teacher and the pupil in the classroom dialogue supersedes the role of the tools employed in the process of instruction. Thus, if teachers are aware of the shortcomings of the text books employed and conscious of the implications for the children that the education process is supposed to serve, then the teacher can intervene to facilitate the learning process. If the teacher is aware of the stereotypes and the structures of cultural irrelevance incorporated in the curriculum materials, then it is possible to diffuse the negative images and also to replace those images with positive ones.

A. Methodology

The methods of analysis of the content of some of the readers used in the Trinidad and Tobago School System since the turn of the century (refer to the list below) were adopted from earlier studies in this field. The major sources were Child, Potter & Levine (1946) for Thema Analysis; Women on Words and Images (1972) for the taxonomy of Active Mastery and Second Sex themes; The Study by the Australian Union of Students (1976), who used the Child, Potter & Levine (1946) methods of content analysis for school curriculum materials; and publications from the Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, and the Council for Interracial Books for Children (CIBC), particularly the reference *Human and Anti-Human Values in Children's Books* (1976) for ideas related to the structures of Racism and Sexism, and those stereotypes that foster these images along ethnic and gender lines.

Elementary readers from different publishers formed the basis of this study. The list is as follows:

Readers	Illustrations
1. Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)	Appendix A
2. Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)	Appendix B
3. Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925, reprinted 1975)	Appendix C
4. Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)	Appendix D
5. Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)	Appendix E
6. Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)	Appendix F
7. Blackies Tropical Reader (1962, an earlier version available at the turn of the century)	Appendix G
8. Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)	Appendix H
9. Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975, first published in 1939)	Appendix I
10. Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971, reprinted 1973, 74, 76)	Appendix J

These readers were selected from those available to the elementary teachers in the Trinidad and Tobago School System at different points in time. However, with the exceptions of the Royal Reader (1890's), the New Royal Reader (1900+) and Blackies Tropical Readers (1962 version and the earlier version), these publications listed are still available to teachers as vehicles of instruction. It must be noted, however, that there are no statistics available to indicate how widely or frequently these readers have been used by teachers in the classrooms across the nation. The list of readers used in the present study does not include all readers available at this present point in time, as there have been additions, especially in the 1970's.

The list of readers used in the present study was obtained from a) a prominant bookstore supplying curriculum materials in Port of Spain, and b) a separate list from a school teacher in Port of Spain. The list from the bookstore had more publications listed than the one from the teacher, and so the bookstore's list was used for the purposes of analysis (as that list included all those publications listed by the teacher).

The actual books studied were readers one to three for (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925, reprinted 1975), (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (5) Nisbet's Janet and John Readers (1949), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975 edition, first published in 1939 and revised in 1971), and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971, reprinted 1973, 74, 76). Only one reader was analysed in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), and (7) Blackies Tropical Reader (1962 version).

Thus, the analyses pertain only to the readers studied, and cannot be generalized beyond the actual sources used here.

Procedure

Each reader was taken as a unit of classification for the analyses of reader content, along the lines of gender and ethnicity. Content analysis is the assignment of reader content into taxonomies that relate to the definitions of Gender and Ethnic stereotypes. In this study, classifications or analyses were made of reader's contents, into 1. Story Type (Everyday, Animal, Fantasy, Biography, Information, and the indefinite category, Other), 2. Thema Analysis, or the classification of action or behavioral sequences (Refer to pp. 130&206 for the taxonomies), 3. Biographies (Refer to the list on p.259), 4. Occupations (Refer to Appendix K.), and 5. Illustrations (Refer to Appendices A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J).

B. Story Type

Both the Child, Potter & Levine (1946) and the Australian Union of Students (1976) studies included the assignment of stories to story type categories in their content analysis of children's literature. The purposes of this classification are 1. to give an indication of the proportions assigned to the different types of stories in the textbooks, 2. to look at behaviors assigned to characters with reference to story type, and 3. to pose questions as to the reasons why the proportions by story types vary from one textbook to another. For example, if the readers are used by young people, who are just learning to extract meaning from the written text or symbols, then one would expect that the meanings contained in the symbols would be directly relevant, or immediately available to the child, and that they would be drawn from the world of everyday experience. Thus, one would expect to find a high proportion of Everyday stories, and a small proportion of factual or Information stories in the basal readers. One must also look at whether the time period and the culture presented in the text is relevant to the child for whom the reading instruction, if not the textbook, is intended.

The classification of story types was as follows:

1. Everyday
2. Animal
3. Fantasy
4. Biography
5. Information
6. Other (the indefinite category).

This classification was evolved from the classifications used by Child, Potter & Levine (1946), Women on Words and Images (1972) and the study done by the Australian Union of Students (1976). The classification of some stories into the indefinite category was added in this study as there were stories that did not fit neatly into the other five categories. Those stories that were placed under the indefinite category were usually stories that were fictional recreations of historical moments or folk tales and informational stories involving animated characters. Table I shows the Raw Scores and Percentage Figures; Table II, the Ratios of Male to Female Characters; and Table III, the Ratios of White to Other Ethnic Groups; all for each Story Type by Reading Series.

The broad classification of ethnic identity into "White" and "Other" is not meant to be a detailed picture of the actual cultural and ethnic

TABLE I

RAW SCORES AND PERCENTAGE FIGURES FOR STORY TYPE BY READING SERIES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Everyday	24 63%**	21 68%**	3 3%	-	n-4**	2 7%	-	42 98%**	34 73%**	14 29%*
Animal	9 24%*	7 23*	12 12%	10 11%	4*	6 20%	-	-	11 24%*	9 18%
Fantasy	2 5%	3 10%	14 14%*	9 10%	-	8 27%*	-	1 2%	1 2%	4 8%
Biography	2 5%	-	3 3%	7 7%	-	-	-	-	-	2 4%
Information	1 3%	-	66 67%**	63 66%**	-	4 13%	63 100%**	-	-	20 41%**
Other	-	-	-	6 6%	-	10 33%**	-	-	-	-

** ranked first in terms of frequency by reader
* ranked second in terms of frequency by reader

Refer to the list of Readers by number on p. 92

TABLE II. RATIOS OF MALE TO FEMALE BY STORY TYPE AND READING SERIES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
EVERYDAY	7:1	1:1	2:1	1:1	1:1	1:0	-	1:1	2: 1	1:1
ANIMAL	8:1	2:1	12:0	10:1	1:1	3:1	-	-	2:1	8:0
FANTASY	2:0	2:1	2:1	4:1	-	3:1	-	1:0	1:0	3:0
BIOGRAPHY	2:0	-	3:0	7:0	-	-	-	-	-	2:0
INFORMATION		-	1:0	9:1	-	2:0	59:0	-	-	4:1
OTHER	-	-	-	4:1	-	9:0	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	9:1	1:1	5:1	9:1	1:1	7:1	59:0	1:1	2:1	4:1

TABLE III. RATIOS OF WHITE TO OTHER BY STORY TYPE AND READING SERIES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
EVERYDAY	11:1	12:1	2:1	-	-	1:0	-	1:13	-	0:14
FANTASY	2:0	3:0	13:1	1:2	-	1:1	-	0:1	-	1:1
BIOGRAPHY	2:0	-	3:0	6:1	-	-	-	-	-	2:0
INFORMATION	0:1	-	-	0:10	-	1:1	-	-	-	-
OTHER	-	-	-	5:1	-	1:2	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	9:1	24:0	6:1	1:1	*	1:1	-	1:13	*	1:7

Note: Readers 5 and 9 were an "All White" population, as was Reader 2, and Reader 7 did have human characters, but their ethnic identity was not indicated, although their style was English.

Refer to the list of Readers by number on p.92

mosaic of the Trinidad population, but conforms more to the ideological framework of white dominance, within the theoretical rubric of cultural imperialism or colonialism. A more detailed classification of ethnicity into the actual ethnic configuration in the Trinidad population has not been attempted in this study, although this would be an important contribution to the field, especially if a study were to be made of readers published in the years following Independence, where attempts have been made to present local content in the readers.

Table I shows that the proportions of stories by story type varies from series to series. Everday stories are the most frequently occurring in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971). The readers where Information stories are totally lacking or almost absent are (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) , (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975). The pattern that emerges is that those readers intended for English children with the exception of (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), do not include Information stories, while those textbooks for West Indian students have included high percentages of these stories. The reason for the inclusion of Information type stores in those readers intended for West Indian students can only be surmised, but at the turn of the century the Jamaican Education Commission, 1898 (Quoted in Ramchand, 1970, p.24) requested that "one Reading Book including the instruction of History and Geography be specially composed." It would seem that reading textbooks have been composed to increase general and local knowledge, and thus, it may be that these textbooks have been designed to fulfill purposes beyond the bounds of reading instruction per se.

Table II, Ratios of Male to Female Characters by Story Types and Reading Series shows that the proportions of males in almost all reading series and story types is considerably higher than that of females. In no series or story type category is this trend reversed, although (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949) and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) show a ratio of 1:1 when the scores are rounded up.

In Table III, Ratios of White to Other by Story Types and Reading Series, the proportions of White characters are higher in all readers, with the exceptions of (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (6) Collins' Trinidad and Tobago Reader (1960) where the overall ratios are 1:1 and the trend is reversed in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) where the ratio is 1:13, and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) where the ratio is 1:7. Those readers where the characters are predominantly white, are (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1990's), (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John (1949), and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975), the majority of which are those texts written for children in England or else from a British perspective. In (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers, the loading of "Other" is assigned to story types "Fantasy" (ratio of 1:2) and "Information" (ratio of 0:10).

The overall comment that emerges from the tables is the predominance of males and whites in the majority of the reading textbooks analysed, the notable exceptions in the latter being (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971). In more recent publications attempts have been made to increase the West Indian content and also a West Indian perspective in the reading textbooks, but to date there does not appear to be any reversals in the trend in terms of gender, where males continue to dominate literally and figuratively in the textbooks.

Story Type Descriptions.

1. Everyday Stories: are those that depict routine activities and events for the reader community for whom the story was intended. Thus, the events, such as shopping for a winter coat, seeing father go to the city by train and taking a pet dog to visit a friend and her pet cats in the autumn, were classified as everyday events, even though the Trinidad child does not experience these phenomena routinely. The everyday story type classification depicting the familiar world of the child is also given to stories that were written in different time periods. The experiential world of (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+);(5)Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949); and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), reflect the world of three different time periods. Thus, the dimensions of time and location set the stage for the "familiar" events or episodes to run their course, and pose limits to the assumption that everyday stories are those whose relevance eases the process of identifying with the characters portrayed in these stories. This assumption is further complicated by the fact that the characters in some readers bear little resemblance to the children in Trinidad, and the everyday events in the lives of English children may be rare or even totally absent in the

lives of Trinidad children. Thus, the notion that everyday stories are those that hold the most relevance for the student learning to read is a misguided assumption when the books intended for one culture are relocated in another. For example, those readers that were intended for English children and thus have an English perspective and characters located in the English context, have the highest proportion of Everyday Type stories. These textbooks are (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975).(Refer to Table I).

Table I also indicates that the proportion of Everyday Stories in readers for the Caribbean students (included in this study), have increased in the more recent publications, (8) Collins' Ibis Reader (1970) 98%, and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) 29%.

2. Animal Stories: As the title indicates, in these stories the main characters are animals, or animated characters. Animal stories are often conveniently used to depict behaviors that children engage in and are sanctioned for doing so. In the readers, we find vain animals, such as the billy goat, the daw and the morocoy; the wolf or fox, who is always cunning or evil (the devil's advocate), birds that are elitist and proud of their "pecking order", rabbits that are clever when they are caught in situations that they cannot run away from, or in Brer Rabbit's case, when he cannot avoid "working", and a little black spider who can outwit the mighty tiger. The animal world, it seems, can afford a certain violence that the folk culture of children can identify with readily. Little animals can be punished with the rod, humiliated and rejected, whereas,

children in the readers are rarely shown doing things that are "naughty". The fact that animals are used instead of human subjects in the world of children's readers is the basis for a more detailed study. Suffice it to say here that animals can be loaded with stereotypes or projections that children can and do identify with, and yet at the same time the child is able to feel comfortable as he or she can distantiate himself or herself from the reality portrayed, by assuming or pretending that these "animals" belong to another world; and besides, they are only "animals" (creatures of little importance). Children can identify with these animated characters vicariously.

Table I shows that Animal Stories are present in 80% of the reading series studied, and range from 11% to 24% of reader content. The notable exceptions are (7) Blackies Tropical Reader (1962) which does include stories about animals, but these stories conform more to the category of "Information" rather than "Animal"(as animal stories are about human situations played out by animated characters), and (8) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975). Table II indicates that the characters portrayed as animals were predominantly male. (Animal stories have been omitted from Table III because their ethnic identity is, in most cases, difficult to detect. The exceptions would be Brer Rabbit and Anansi, but the exceptions do not make the rule in this case.)

3. Fantasy Stories: These are similar to the animal stories, in that they do not have to conform to everyday dimensions of social reality, or even the law that governs nature. These stories can and do allow for all manner of distortions : time and space are no object, beggars can become kings or queens, frogs can turn into handsome princes, good

peasant girls, if they are beautiful, can marry kings and become queens, one-eyed giants can be brutal and mean, witches can prey on innocent children and impolite crabs, rainbows and moon beams can support weight, and gardens can grow in the sky. In general, it is the virtuous (and here, virtue is defined along Western or Christian lines) who are rewarded by magical transformations and it is the wicked who sprout toads or fall from privilege. Thus, fantasy stories usually have a moral theme, where sanctions and rewards accord with existing cultural mores and values. Fantasy stories also offer (false) hopes to those who would in fact need a magical solution to change their oppressed positions in society. The paradox here is that it is precisely these culturally prescribed values and beliefs that reify the established order and keep dreamers, who aspire for higher status positions, in check or in the social location assigned, that are rewarded by magical transformations or solutions to problems in fantasy stories. Upward mobility is not achieved in these stories by any basic change in society that comes about by a revolutionary movement or certain forms of collective action, but rather the poor character is slotted into the upper class by a magical transformation.

Table I shows that the highest proportion of Fantasy stories appears in (6) Collin's Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960). Fantasy stories are absent in (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949), (7) Blackies Tropical Reader (1962), and rarely occur in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975).

Table II shows that males are the main characters in Fantasy stories, and Table III indicates that the main characters here are predominantly white.

4. Biography: These are stories about people who are "worthies" or those who are held up as great or important in a culture. The historical record holds up individuals as examples of honor and glory, who are seen as significant contributors in the monument of progress, shaping values and events that have contributed to the order of contemporary society. In the readers studied, it would appear that there is a white adult male bias when it comes to singling out individuals as worthy of honor and remembrance. This is hardly surprising, as it seems that the definition of greatness, and the definition of history or what is to be defined as an historical moment or event, has a male, as well as an ethnocentric bias. Those in positions of power, those who were educated and those who roamed the seas to discover the New World, those who fought battles and wars are those that history deems important, and thus women and other cultures outside of the historical tradition of Europe have had no access to "greatness". In readers there were no "worthies" in woman guised. However, in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers the tale is told of Booker T. Washington (the son of an ex-slave in the United States, who rationalized the continued oppression of black people after emancipation in 1893, by asserting that uneducated blacks could not be regarded as equal to whites. He felt that black people should earn their "equality" (Refer to Carnoy, 1975, p.19)), and another story is told of the Maroons in Jamaica ((4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers).

(Refer to the list of people singled out for their greatness on p. 259)

Table I shows that Biographies occurred in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader, (1890's) 5%, (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) 3%, (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) 7%, and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers

(1971) 4%.

Table II shows that those subjects of Biographies were entirely male, and Table III indicates that they were predominantly white (males).

5. Information: The stories that were included in this category were those that present factual material about an object or event. The factor which distinguishes this category from other categories is that information stories have objects, while others have subjects central to the story. Stories about plants and trees, animals and insects, germs and disease, and stories of other lands, were classified as informational. It would appear from Table I that (7) Blackies Tropical Reader (1962), (3) Nelson's West Indian Reader (1925) and (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) were designed to "educate" West Indian children, while they were practising their reading, as the proportion of informational stories is 100%, 67% and 66% respectively.

Table II indicates that males predominated in this category, although the figures in Table III show that it is predominantly "Other" (males) who are featured here. This may be explained in part by the fact that Information stories figured in those text books that were intended specifically for West Indian children, and were absent in those readers intended for school children in England.

6. Other Stories: This category is assigned to those stories that do not fit neatly into the other five categories. In (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) for example, there were numerous stories that were in part informational, as they were set in the framework of history, but they were also fictional, or attempts at recreating those

historical moments using representative characters or groups of characters to illustrate the patterns of immigration and the immigrants who came to build the nation of Trinidad and Tobago. (The stories that were told were located in Trinidad only).

Table I indicates that other stories appeared only in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) 6%, and (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) 33%.

Table II shows that males figured most prominantly, and Table III shows that whites were most numerous in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) with a ratio of 5:1, and the trend was reversed in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) with a ratio of 1:2.

Overview

Table I gives an overview of the content analysis of reading series by story type which reveals that the characters featured throughout were predominantly male and white. Where this trend is reversed is shown in Table III rather than Table II. Table III indicates that white characters were outnumbered by characters of "Other" ethnic origin in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) with a ratio of 1:13, and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers with a ratio of 1:7. Thus, it would appear that the readers of the 1970's composed for children in West Indian schools have attempted to portray characters that resemble the children in the classrooms, although the proportion of Information stories in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) is remarkably high at 41%. With reference to the inclusion of Information stories, the important question for teachers to consider when using these stories is whether or not the information excites interest or curiosity, or whether the children are bored or indifferent to this material in the readers, as the number one goal of a reader is surely, to encourage the child to read, so that this skill might be used as a vehicle of knowling rather than the reverse where knowledge is given as a vehicle of acquiring reading skills.

C. Thema Analysis

Thema analysis is primarily the analysis of action or behavioral sequences contained in the reading textbooks. As the primary purpose of this analysis was to look at the content of the readers in terms of the effect or bearing on socialization or attitude formation, along the lines of gender or ethnic stereotypes, those stories that were subjected to thema analysis were those that might conceivably influence the child's attitudes or behavior. The criterion necessary for selecting material that was available for this method of analysis was action or behavioral content, from which it is supposed that identification and generalization or discrimination might follow. (In this context, the term discrimination is used in the more specific case and is taken from Behavior Theory or Learning Theory. Discrimination here refers to the ability to differentiate between similar objects, events or stimuli. Generalization refers to the ability to recognize similarity and to generalize from this basis.)

Because of this necessary condition, there were stories that could not be included in the study, because they were wholly objective or informative, and thus there were no characters as subjects, and there was no action or behavior displayed to subject to analysis. For example, there is no action content in a story about a plant or an animal, or thing that is being described in terms that are purely objective. However, when a child or animated subject is shown doing something, or saying something, or even thinking something, the criterion for action or behavioral content is met, and a thema analysis is appropriate. Thus, animals, cartoon characters, and fantasy figures, whose behavior conforms more with human modes of expression, action or temperament, can be subjected to thema analysis, as these modes of expression can conceivably influence the child's socialization or attitude formation.

Those stories that are informative or objective pose problems for thema analysis in that they are not loaded with human qualities, and thus there is little emotional participation involved in reading about an object, especially when the subject matter is further distanced by the use of third person and past tense to increase the appearance of objectivity. Teachers might look at these stories for the information value and assess the relevance of the information for the child in the classroom. The other question that might have value in any analysis of reader content is why these information type stories were included in the readers, given the enormous body of children's stories available to authors and publishers of school textbooks, or stories that could be composed for the children in the West Indian classroom.

With the exception of Blackies Tropical Reader (1962), this meant that at least 70% of the stories in the readers were suitable for thema analysis and in most cases the proportion of stories where action or behavior was present was considerably higher. In the 1962 version of Blackies Tropical Reader, the content was not suitable for thema analysis, even though the authors make the point that they have included characters to help with the dialogue. The stories, however, were not about the characters, and the characters were only posited in the text to tell the students about things, such as plants and animals. The dialogues, therefore, read like Science or Agricultural manuals.

The thema was chosen as the unit of analysis, as whole stories were too awkward to deal with as a unit. Stories are often made up of many behavioral sequences and as such, are too complex for any detailed analysis of this kind. Child, Potter & Levine (1946) used this break down of stories into themas in their pioneering effort, and many of the researchers in the field (such as the Australian Union of Students Study, 1976), have followed suit because the thema is a convenient unit to use for this purpose.

A thema is defined as a behavioral sequence or a sequence of psychological events, and consists of a) a situation or circumstance confronting or surrounding a character, b) the behavior, or response to that situation or circumstance (internal or external) and c) the consequences of the behavior (Approval or Disapproval, explicit or implied).

An example of a thema is as follows:

> Situation or Circumstance: Two boys laughing at an old man when he asks them to retrieve his hat for him (as he is not able to retrieve it for himself).
>
> Behavior: humiliating the old man, or covert aggression.
>
> Consequences: shame and sorrow (Punishment Internal or Implicit Disapproval)
>
> (Example taken from (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader, "A Good Little Girl", pp.43-44)

The number of themas analysed, by reading series, is given below.

READING SERIES	NO. THEMAS ANALYSED
(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)	131
(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)	108
(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)	111
(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)	199
(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Series (1949)	87
(6) Collin's Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)	128
(7) Blackies Tropical Reader (1962)	-
(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)	96
(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)	101
(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)	199

The total number of themas analysed was 1160.

In summary, the readers allow children an access to the learning of social skills and attitudes. Whilst reading, children symbolically rehearse episodes described or presented, and as children are not computors coding material in a mechanical fashion, but rather, making sense of and giving meaning to, the input that they receive, it is important not only to look at behaviors per se, but also the consequences of actions. The consequences of the behaviors presented by characters in the readers serve as a guide in defining the appropriateness of behavior. Readers are vehicles of strong social messages about those behaviors that are socially acceptable or legitimate, and those that are not.

Social Learning theorists suggest that when a child is reading, he or she is vicariously participating in the scenes presented, and thus, when characters are seen to be rewarded for certain behaviors that take place in certain situations, the probability that the child will repeat the behavior displayed, given a similar set of circumstances, is actually increased. Conversely, if a character is seen to be punished or disapproved of as a result of certain actions, then the probability that the child will repeat that behavior in a similar situation is actually decreased.

The Sequence of Thema Analysis

For each thema, a work card was filled out that looked like this:

READER:
STORY:
1. MAIN CHARACTER/S:
2. CIRCUMSTANCE:
3. BEHAVIOR:
4. CONSEQUENCE:

LOCATION:
STORY TYPE:

Thus, the classification of themas was carried out systematically, as the sequence implies, and the rationale for the inclusion of this information will be furnished under the relevant headings.

1. Character/s: In the thema analysis, each sequence of action or behavior was assigned to a subject in the reading text. That character human, animal, fantasy, or an animated character who has been assigned human modes of expression and conduct.

Each character or subject was broadly classified by age, sex and ethnic grouping , except in the case of animal characters where ethnic identity was not readily indentifiable in the majority of instances.

The age factor was defined as a) Child or b) Adult. This distinction was easily arrived at, as children were referred to by Christian names, and adults were usually defined by their occupational roles or marital status. Thus, adult males were usually referred to as Mr. and adult females were referred to as Mrs. or mother. There was no difficulty in assigning characters to age categories.

The sex of each character was classified Male or Female and this distinction was never difficult to detect and categorize.

Ethnic identity was broadly classified into White or Other. There was little difficulty in distinguishing the ethnic identity, given only two labels to assign, in congruence with the ideological framework of white dominance that coincides with cultural imperialism or colonization in the Trinidad context. However, it would have been difficult at times to assign more detailed classifications of ethnic identity, as the illustrations were often confusing, and one cannot be certain that a name that has an ethnic origin is actually given to a member of that particular ethnic grouping. For example, English names have been popular in the West Indies for a long time and most children are given English names, although the majority of the children who carry these names are not English in origin.

In all, there were twelve categories for character types:

1.	White Adult Male	WAM
2.	White Child Male	WCM
3.	Other Adult Male	OAM
4.	Other Child Male	OCM
5.	Animal Male	AnM
6.	Mixed Adult	MA
7.	Mixed Child	MC
8.	White Adult Female	WAF
9.	White Child Female	WCF
10.	Other Adult Female	OAF
11.	Other Child Female	OCF
12.	Animal Female	AnF

Table IV presents the Ratios of Character Types by Reading Series. Generally speaking, the number of males outnumber the number of females in most of the reading series, with the exceptions of (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), where the ratio is 1:2, (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949) where the ratio is 1:3, and in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975), where the ratio is 1:1.

White characters are more numerous in most of the reading series, with the exceptions of (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), where the ratios are 1:3, 1:9 and 1:5 respectively.

The ratios of Adult to Child characters in the readers varied from reader to reader. Those readers where the number of adults predominated were: (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (3) Nelson's West Indian

TABLE IV.

RATIOS OF CHARACTER TYPES BY READING SERIES.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
WAM:WAF	13:1	1:2	3:1	13:1	1:3	5:1	:	0:8	2:1	10:1
WCM:WCF	1:2	1:1	1:1	4:1	1:1	3:1	:	25:0	1:1	:
OAM:OAF	5:1	:	1:1	5:1	:	27:1	:	1:1	:	2:1
OAM:OCF	1:0	1:0	1:1	1:1	:	2:1	:	1:1	1:1	2:1
M:F	4:1	1:2	3:1	3:1	1:3	6:1	:	1:1	1:1	2:1
W:O	2:1	27:1	1:1	1:3	169:0	1:1	:	1:9	79:1	1:5
A:C	4:1	1:8	3:1	1:1	1:10	3:1	:	1:3	1:3	2:1

(Note: Ratios are all rounded up).

Refer to the list of Readers by numbers on p. 92

Abbreviations:
W - White
O - Other
A - Adult
C - Child
M - Male
F - Female

Readers (1925), (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971). Those readers where the number of children outnumbered the number of adults were: (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975).

Table IV also indicates the break down of characters into their age, sex and ethnic groupings by Reading Series.

(WAM:WAF) shows the ratios of White Adult Males to White Adult Females by reading series, and here it is evident that in the majority of readers, the number of White Adult Males is higher than the number of White Adult Females. Reversals in this trend are seen in readers (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Series (1949) and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), where the ratios are 1:2, 1:3, and 0:8 respectively.

(WCM:WCF) shows the ratios of White Child Males to White Child Females in readers. The numbers of males to females in the childhood category are close to being even. However, with the exception of reader (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) where there are more girls than boys the other ratios favor the boys (readers (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960),and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970),where the ratios are 4:1, 3:1 and 25:0 respectively.).

(OAM:OAF) indicates the ratios of Other Adult Males to Other Adult Females, and in all cases where the ratios are not 1:1, the number of males outnumbers the number of females. The figures that stand out here, are those for reader (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), where the number of men to women is 27:1. It would appear that it was men who built the nation as women are so poorly represented.

(OCM:OCF) shows the ratios of Other Child Males to Other Child Females by reading series. In most cases the number of males is greater than the number of females, except in readers (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) where the ratio is 1:1. Reader (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) and (5) Nisbet's Janet & John (1949) did not present characters of "Other" ethnic origin at this age level.

An overview of the results of character types by themas and reading series reveals that there is a greater number of White Adult Males than any other group, and also that there tend to be loadings on Male, White and to a lesser extent on Adult in the readers studied. These results coincide with the notion that Western society is predominantly patriarchal and white, and it is this society that figures in the reading texts. These results follow the same pattern as the results that were obtained in the classification of main characters by story types (refer to Tables I, II, & III) The classification of character types by themas however, produces more conservative figures as a rule, as there are more women in the breakdown of stories to themas, whereas main characters by story unit tend to be male.

The classification of characters by age, sex and ethnicity is of basic importance in reference to the analysis of behavior (thema analysis) as patterns of behavior are also dimensioned along these lines in our society. Being Male or being female, and being a member of an ethnic group are part of everyone's social and cultural identity throughout life. There is no choice over these biological factors, but there may be some choice about the cultural scripts that dissect our identity and organize our attributes into a hierarchy or value system. In every culture, dispositions are dimensioned, weighted, evaluated and defined, and once labelled or organized into the symbolic scheme, the openness of the system is veiled by an often overwhelming suspicion of finality. The case appears to have been closed, and the certain rigidity of the system coupled with the pervasiveness of stereotyped roles, has led some scholars to confuse biological differences with conventional ascriptions (the field of Socio-biology is a typical example). The language of a culture names and assigns scripts to human actors; the language appears to seal the socio-political arrangement with legitimacy.

The "reader culture" or that culture portrayed in the readers studied appears to have been even more rigid and tradition bound or oriented than the real world of contemporary society in Trinidad. The reader society abounds with stereotypes. Thus, an analysis of the characters along age, sex and ethnic lines, coupled with the action that is played out, and also the evaluation of these roles, reveals that there are differences, and that the differences conform to traditional notions of appropriateness. Cutlural aspects or prescriptions are rarely neutral, they may be subtle at times, but just as often they are blatantly obvious. The inequities of social and cultural evaluation are not haphazard, but conform with recognizable attributes such as age, sex and race. Stereotypes or caricatures tend to devalue groups who have been assigned marginal or minority status in society.

2. Behavior: The behaviors that characters manifested in the course of events in the culture represented in the readers was classified under two major headings to locate the significance, if general ways in which the character/s or person/s interact with the environment. In the Child, Potter & Levine Study (1946), Murray's Explorations of Personality (1938) was used as a guide for category definitions of personality factors or attributes. Women on Words and Images (1972) used a system that was devised from studies of Sex Role Stereotypes, which included two general classifications, namely, Acive Mastery and Second Sex Themes, and a series of attributes was subsumed under these general headings or groupings. The Council for Interracial Books for Children, in their publication Human and Anti-Human Values in Children's Books (1976) outlined some of the personality structures that connote sexism and racism, as an aid to detecting and classifying behavioral correlates. (In the sections subsumed under the general headings of Active Master and Second Citizen, the sources for the taxonomies will be indicated along with the rationale for inclusion in this study.)

In this study, action and behavior sequences, or themas, were classified under two broad headings; Active Mastery (refer to TableVIIIp.130) and Second Citizen themes (refer to Table X , p.206), which is most like the format given in the study by Women on Words and Images (1976) although the title Second Citizen has replaced the title Second Sex, as this study incorporates ethnicity as well as gender. The reason for inclusion of themes under the one heading that relate to both sex and race membership is because there is considerable overlap between the two groups.

The castelike nature of women and blacks is illustrated very clearly in Table V, from Hacker (1951) in Stoll (1974, p.65). Both groups have

TABLE V.

THE CASTELIKE STATUS OF WOMEN AND BLACKS

BLACKS	WOMEN
HIGH SOCIAL VISIBILITY	
a. Skin color, other 'racial' characteristics	a. Secondary sex characterisitcs
b. Sometimes distinctive dress patterns	b. Distinctive dress
ASCRIBED ATTRIBUTES	
a. Inferior intelligence, smaller brain, less convoluted, scarcity of genius	a. Ditto
b. Freer instinctual gratifications More emotional,'primitive', and childlike. Imagined sexual prowess envied	b. Irresponsible, inconsistent, emotionally unstable, lack strong superego. Women as temptress.
c. Common stereotype 'inferior'	c. 'Weaker'
RATIONALIZATIONS OF STATUS	
a. Thought all right in his or her place	a. Women's place is in the home
b. Myth of contented Negro	b. Myth of contented woman 'feminine' woman is happy in her subordinate role.
ACCOMMODATING ATTITUDES	
a. Supplicatory intonation of voice.	a. Rising inflection, smiles, laughs downward glances.
b. Deferential manner	b. Flattering manner
c. Concealment of real feelings	c. 'feminine wiles'
d. Outwit 'white folk'	d. Outwit 'men folk'
e. Careful study of points at which dominant group is susceptible to influence	e. Ditto
f. Fake appeals for directives; show of ignorance	f. Appearance of helplessness.
DISCRIMINATIONS	
a. Limitations of education-should fit 'place' in society	a. Ditto
b. Confined to traditional jobs-barred from supervisory positions	b. Ditto
c. Deprived of political importance	c. Ditto
d. Social and professional segregation	d. Ditto
e. More vulnerable to criticism	e. eg. conduct in bars

Source: Hacker(1951), p.65 in Stoll (1974) been assigned a "marginal" status in Western society. Members of these minority groups are oppressed in our society, and in the process of socialization and enculturation each child learns that the value assigned to these groups is not equal to the value assigned to the dominant group. Members of these oppressed groups are easily identified as they are highly visible, and the attitudes towards them have been stereotyped and these ascribed attributes are often derogatory and thus function to degrade members of these groups in contrast to members of the dominant group. When we say that someone is "a blue-eyed boy" in an organization, the implication is that this white man has been selected out for promotion in an organization. The images associated with being white and male are not limited or limiting in the same way that images of women and minority ethnic groups(or "others")have become. These highly visible "others" have been discriminated against over a long period of time and yet the reason given for their low economic and political status is all too often assigned to inherited characteristics and genetic inferiority, rather than a heritage that has denied them a place in the mainstream of society. A rationale for the low economic and political status of "others" that ignores the historico-cultural heritage of society denies the politics of human decisions and the colonization of these groups of people by the dominant group at the cultural or structural level and at the social and psychological level. To resort to biological explainers for oppression is to deny the cultural aspects of oppression, and to blame "nature" for discrimination and status location. However, women and people from Third World countries have been classified as inferior at different points in time, and the notion lingers in contemporary myths and the popular consciousness of modern society, resulting in a castelike system of status assignment.

In this study, those attributes that have been attributed to "marginal" beings in our society have been listed under the heading Second Citizen. Thus, the qualities that have been associated with stereotypes along ethnic and gender lines, which promote racism and sexism in our society, have been listed as part of the taxonomy for identifying related imagery. These terms "sexism" and "racism" indicate the oppressive nature of these stereotypes and the fact that stereotyping is a political arrangement, as well as an academic exercise or study, and it is this political aspect of intersubjective evaluation of "others" that is of central importance here. There were twenty-one subcategories listed under Active Mastery (refer to TableVIII, p.130),and seventeen subcategories listed under Second Citizen (refer to TableX , p.206). These subcategories are defined and illustrated with excerpts from the readers studied at the end of this section.

Each thema was assigned to its relevant subcategory under the two major groupings Active Mastery and Second Citizen. However, there were many instances where the ease of assigning themas into the broad categories was not matched by that of assignment to the subcategories. There were also instances where a single behavior had more than one meaning, and also where one act may have had several ends or purposes. Thus, when there was some ambiguity in meaning, and thus in the assignment of themas to a subcategory, a judgment had to be made in terms of the most conspicuous or predominating purpose or meaning in the individual case. However, there was no hesitation in assigning themas to the broad headings of Active Mastery and Second Citizen themes.

Limitations of Thema Analysis: Thema analysis is not the panacea of interpretation of personality correlates of behavior, or even as a tool of analysis. The logic on which this idea is based appears to be that if you break down behavior into its smallest unit, and then put the pieces of information together, you can rebuild Humpty Dumpty as it were. Each thema is regarded as a unit, and as such, these units are dealt with as though they were equal or equivalent, when in fact, this is not the case. The fact remains that when all the pieces of information are put together a picture emerges that resembles Humpty Dumpty, and this none could doubt, but it is also true that some of the vital parts are missing. Humpty Dumpty is made up of more than these parts or units. Thus an empiricist or reductionist approach to human behavior does not necessarily result in a true picture of what is happening in the human experience, nor does it cope adequately with the nuances of literature, as sophisticated as these nuances may be in children's literature or textbooks. The reason for choosing the earliest reading texts was that some of the ambiguity within the text would be avoided because of the tendency to simplify the meanings of these texts for the young apprentice of the literacy process. However, when all the themas were put together or assembled, even at this very elementary level of word and meaning parallels, there seemed to be a lot of information missing. This is not to say that the analysis was useless, or wholly inadequate, but it was only a partial explainer or interpreter of human behavior in the textbooks.

Literature is rarely literal, even at the earliest levels of the literary experience, and looking at the whole story, or even pieces of any story revealed that there were more meanings encapsulated in the words or symbols than one, and often there were different levels of meaning and significance. Thus, it would seem that a more Gestaltic interpretation or a purely literary interpretation of the behaviors and meaning content of the readers is needed in addition to a thema analysis. Thus, whilst being faithful to the tool of analysis, it is important to be aware of the limitations of the tool and to exchange tools according to the nature of the work that is required. The thema analysis has its advantages, in that it is a systematic approach and an attempt to be scientific, if that is a desirable end in itself, but when we look at behavior and literature, it appears as though parts go missing when the body of the material is dissected and put together again after being sifted through labels and taxonomies.

3. Consequences: As the human world is a social world, it is important, not only to look at behavior or action sequences per se, but the social significance or evaluation of that behavior. It is necessary for each child to learn that behaviors and actions do not occur in a vacuum but in a social context, and thus, it is as important to know when and how to behave according to the situation or circumstance in which that behavior takes place. For example, playing with a ball is a behavior that most children learn . However, playing with a ball in the living-room is negatively sanctioned, whereas, playing with a ball in leisure time and out of doors is viewed positively. The appropriateness of behaviors and actions is another aspect of social learning that humans have to negotiate in the course of socialization and enculturation.

In the present study, the consequences of behavior were broadly classified into those behaviors or actions that were approved of or else disapproved of in the reader. This scheme of Approval and Disapproval was taken from the Child, Potter & Levine Study (1946). The further subdivisions of Approval and Disapproval into social, physical, implicit, explicit, internal and external, used in the Child, Potter & Levine Study (1946) was not used in this study, as the nature of the consequences of behaviors was not the primary aim in this thesis. Thus, the broad categories of Approval and Disapproval were sufficient explainers of appropriateness or inappropriateness of behaviors within the culture represented in the readers, which conformed with Western social values.

Those behaviors that were rewarded, or not sanctioned, were classified under "Approval", while those behaviors that were punished or negatively sanctioned were classified under "Disapproval". In many instances, the consequences were implicit rather than explicit, but it was rare that one was left in any doubt as to the approriateness or inappropriateness of a character's behavior.

Active Mastery: An Overview

Active Mastery is basically the intelligent manipulation of one's self in relation to one's environment or world. Locus of control is squarely in the hands of the active master. Such traits as ingenuity, bravery, creativity, perseverance, achievement motivation, adventurousness, curiosity, industry, sportsmanship, a sense of autonomy or self respect, are part of this scheme of general control. In most societies, the manifestation of these traits is looked upon as desirable and marks the mature or responsible member of society. These positive traits have their base in a certain sense of self and thus, persons possessing these traits not only control or dominate the world of immediate encounter, or plan for future events, but can also be said to possess or control themselves. Active masters then, are "winners" in that they have a sense of potency, or an ability to impose their will on society, or pit themselves against nature, or strive for something in the world of business or careers. On the mundane level, active masters can direct and control the topics of conversation, and even the radio or television program that is going to be viewed by all other persons in the room.

Weber (1969 translation) defined power as the abiltiy to impose one's will or perception of reality on others, i.e., "The way I see it, is the way it is." Thus, the reality one perceives and operates within, in negotiating the lived world, such as the world of work, or efforts in the direction of self fulfillment is the essence of control or mastery. There is a dynamic or active component working here, in that the actor seems constantly engaged in a dialogue with the world, not only on the physical, but also on the social, psychological and metaphorical planes. To be curious is the key to exploration in the realm of the unknown: to be brave one must perceive danger and know how to cope with things that are dangerous; to achieve, one must have a course open to allow for that achievement and a desire to "make it" as well as a sense that one can indeed achieve a certain goal. Thus, the active master can and does impose on, or engage the world with intelligent strategies and styles of action.

In the readers that were examined in this study, it was found that some characters consistently dominate or control the action in the story lines. The predominance of whites and males in active mastery themas is evidenced in Table VI where percentages for character types by major themes and reading series are presented. Table VII shows the picture in terms of ratios. Within the cultural framework created by authors of children's readers, it would appear that it is whites and males who deal intelligently with their environment, while females and members of other ethnic groups figure prominantly in second citizen themas. Both tables (VI and VII) show the high proportion of males in all readers with the exceptions of (5) Nisbet's Janet and John Readers (1949) and (9) Oliver and Boyd's Happy Venture Series where males and females were equally represented in active mastery themas. In second citizen themas the proportion of males diminishes drastically in relation to the proportion of females. Females are more numerous in second citizen themas in all readers with the exceptions of (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) where the representation of males and females is approximately equal.

The proportions of white to other characters in Table VI and Table VII show a similar trend to that of male to female representations. White characters are more frequently shown as active masters with the exceptions of readers (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971). In second citizen themas the proportions of characters from other ethnic groups is higher than in the case of active mastery themas. In those readers that have populations where the majority of the characters belong to other ethnic groups, i.e., (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson'w New West Indian Readers (1971), the proportions of others are higher than the proportions of white characters in second citizen themas, particularly in readers (8) and (10).

The pattern that emerges from the thema analysis is that the culture in the readers is white male dominant. Active mastery themas are mainly populated by white and male characters, and second citizen themas are are assigned more often to females and members of other ethnic groups.

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE FIGURES FOR CHARACTER TYPE BY MAJOR THEME AND READING SERIES

ACTIVE MASTERY

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MALE	92	79	93	94	43	86	-	69	51	71
FEMALE	8	21	7	6	42	14	-	29	39	23
WHITE	85	96	67	46	82	61	-	8	99	10
OTHER	3	-	6	19	-	26	-	92	-	69
ANIMAL	12	4	27	35	18	13	-	-	2	21
MIX	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	10	10	6

SECOND CITIZEN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MALE	56	5	30	44	19	21	-	27	24	37
FEMALE	44	95	70	66	78	77	-	71	71	50
WHITE	71	97	44	34	85	84	-	2	97	3
OTHER	15	-	22	52	-	12	-	97	-	77
ANIMAL	17	3	33	14	15	5	-	-	3	20
MIX	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	6	13

Refer to Reading Series by number on p. 92

TABLE VII

RATIOS OF CHARACTER TYPE BY MAJOR THEME AND READING SERIES

ACTIVE MASTERY

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
M:F	12:1	4:1	13:1	16:1	1:1	6:1	-	2:1	1.3:1	3:1
W:O	28:1	*	11:1	2:1	*	2:1	-	1:12	*	1:7

SECOND CITIZEN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
M:F	1:1	1:19	1:2	1:2	1:4	2:1	-	1:3	1:3	1:1.3
W:O	8:1	*	2:1	1:2	*	7:1	-	1:49	*	1:26

(Key: *represents an 'All White population'

M =Male F =Female

W =White O =Other)

Refer to Reading Series by number on p. 92

TABLE VIII

ACTIVE MASTERY THEMES.

1.1. Morality

1.2. Cleverness, Ingenuity, Resourcefulness, Cognizance.

1.3. Activity, Doing.

1.4. Achievment, Ambition, Competitiveness, Aspiring for Greatness vs. Cheating, Greed, Stealing.

1.5. Creativity, Experimentation, Construction.

1.6. Perseverance, Industry, Initiative, Persistence, vs. Laziness, Inefficiency

1.7. Adventurousness, Curiosity, Exploration, Mobility

1.8. Apprenticeship, Acquisition of Skills, Coming of Age

1.9. Earning, Trading, Acquiring things, money or capital, vs. Receiving Gifts, Being provided for.

1.10. Manliness, Protectiveness.

1.11. Bravery, Heroism, Strength, Courage, Performing Rescues.

1.12. Dominance, Leadership, Having Power and Wealth, Control, Being in a Position to Manipulate Outcomes.

1.13. Worldly Knowledge, Common Sense, Wisdom, Rational Explanation.

1.14. Elective Generativity, Charity, Helpfulness, Benevolence, Gift Giving.

1.15. Friendship, Affiliation.

1.16. Self Respect, Autonomy, Normal Assertiveness, Self Control.

1.17. Imaginative Play, Dreaming, Fantasy, Imaginality.

1.18. Recognition, Boasting.

1.19. Sportsmanship.

1.20. Aggression, Humiliating Others.

1.21. Harmavoidance.

TABLE IX

ACTIVE MASTERY THEMAS BY CHARACTER TYPE

	WAM	WCM	OAM	OCM	ANM	WAF	WCF	OAF	OCF	ANF
1)	7	4	2	-	1	3	-	-	-	-
2)	26	6	5	3	19	2	-	1	-	-
3)	3	12	2	9	-	1	24	1	6	1
4)	20	10	6	8	18	3	1	-	-	1
5)	3	2	1	2	-	1	1	1	-	-
6)	23	7	7	5	7	6	-	-	-	1
7)	20	9	2	3	4	-	5	-	-	1
8)	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
9)	6	4	5	4	1	-	4	6	3	-
10)	5	5	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
11)	23	3	10	1	10	2	-	-	-	3
12)	39	5	16	1	25	10	2	12	1	1
13)	11	2	6	1	-	2	-	1	-	1
14)	11	5	8	1	1	1	-	2	1	-
15)	-	10	-	4	1	-	10	-	2	-
16)	10	6	3	2	4	4	2	5	1	-
17)	-	5	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-
18)	4	2	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
19)	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
20)	18	4	6	3	19	1	-	1	-	1
21)	5	3	-	1	7	-	-	-	1	-
	234	109	85	52	123	36	50	30	18	10

RATIOS

23 : 11 : 9 : 5 : 12 : 4 : 5 : 3 : 2 : 1

Active Mastery Themes

Active Mastery Themes were divided into twenty-one subcategories (listed by number in Table VIII) into which themas were assigned on the basis of appropriateness to the definitions of individual subcategories. In Table VIII, the first digit, number 1, signifies the major theme of active mastery, and the second digit, numbers 1 to 21, signifies the individual subcategories. Each thema or unit of behavior was broadly classified as fitting the definition of Active Mastery or Second Citizen and then located in a subcategory of the major theme. Each subcategory of active mastery will be defined and elaborated on in the course of listing the results and discussing the results.

Examples and excerpts from the readers will be used to illustrate the the idea or character of each subcategory.

Table IX : Active Mastery Themas by Character Type, lists the number of times that main characters in a thema unit were assigned to subcategories of Active Mastery. For example, if a white adult male (WAM) was shown in the story line extolling the virtue of the king's laws to one of the king's subjects, a score of one was listed under 1.1. Morality and under WAM for white adult male.

The results of the table (Table IX) indicate that for every subcategory of Active Mastery, with the exception of 1.3. Activity, there were more males than females. The overall ratio of males to females was approximately 60:15 or 4:1. Similarly, the overall ratio of whites to others on Active Mastery was approximately 2:1. Ratios by character types are listed at the bottom of Table IX.

Method of Recording the Results

There are three categories of data recorded for each subcategory of Active Mastery Themas:

1. Frequency counts of scores by character type. These figures are presented for each subcategory in tabular form as "results" and are drawn from Table IX.

2. The ranking of frequencies within reading series (when the rank was between one and five). Thus, scores for within reading series were not included for 1.5. Creativity, 1.8. Apprenticeship, 1.10. Manliness, 1,13. Worldly Knowledge,1.17. Imaginality, 1.18. Recognition, 1.19. Sportsmanship, 1.21. Harmavoidance.

3. The ranking of frequencies between reading series. When the number of instances were too low to meaningfully compare, this was indicated in the text. Scores were not included for 1.17. Imaginality, 1.18. Recognition, 1.19. Sportsmanship.

1.1. MORALITY (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946)

The behavioral category of Morality was assigned to those acts pertaining to "good" or "right" conduct, "ethics" or "virtues". Thus, the upholding of righteousness and the denouncing of "evil" or wrongdoing was central to the theme or character of morality. This was included as an Active Mastery theme as actions pertaining to morality are congruent with imposing one's will on others.

RESULTS: WAM 7; WCM 4; OAM 2; OCM 0; AnM 1; and WAF 3.

Male:Female	14:3 or approximately 5:1.
White:Other	14:2 or 7:1.
Adult:Child	12:4 or 3:1.

Within readers, the frequency of morality themas occurred most often in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), ranking as the fifth most frequently occurring thema. Morality themas were not popular in other readers and thus ranked below the cut-off point of between one and five.

Between reading series, the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence is as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
2	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)

3 (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
4 (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
5 (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)

The Victorian era, of which (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) were a product, was one known for its moral fervor, and thus, it is not surprising to discover that Morality themas are popular in these early readers. The frequency of Morality themas decreases over time, and in the more recent Nelson's publication, (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) there are fewer Morality themas in three reading texts than there were in a single text published before 1925. Morality themas do not appear in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975).

Overall results indicate that males were more frequently concerned with moral issues than females (ratio of 5:1) and white characters were more often extolling the virtue of "right" or "good" conduct than other ethnic group characters (ratio of 7:1).

In (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (Refer to Illustration No.6, Appendix A, p.328) there is an example of a prince who mixes with "low companions", and is seen to offend a judge and the court of law. His behavior incites the "good" judge to say:

> Young man, you will one day be King. How can you expect your subjects to obey you then, if you yourself thus disobey the King's laws now.

The prince turns from indignation to shame, and goes quietly off to prison.

> When the King (Henry IV) heard of this incident he said 'Happy is the King that has a Judge who so fearlessly enforces the laws, and a son who knows how to submit to them.'

And so, it is seen that right and righteousness prevails.

In the same reader (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), "a poor old gray headed man" tells young boys about "The Stone That Rebounded", in the name of play or sport. In the old man's youth, he had been cruel to a bird, killing it with a stone, and this deed had left an impression in the form of a guilt ridden conscience, as that foul deed could never be undone.

In another story, the tale is told of a fisherman who had asked to be paid "one hundred lashes" for bringing rare fish to a nobleman's wedding feast. This peculiar request was in truth a way of seeking justice, as the nobleman's porter had made a bargain with the fisherman for "Half the Profit", and was seen to get just that, plus dismissal from the nobleman's service as a bonus. In the story of "The Duke and the Cowboy", (refer to Illustration No.7, Appendix A, p.328) the butler is treated in like manner as the porter for short-changing the honest cowboy.

In the same reader, (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) an English boy is concerned about his future and asks of his father, whether he should become "clever" or "great". His wise father, who is concerned about his son and the nature of the request, replies:

> I want you, my boy, to do your duty in the station, whatever it may be, to which it will please God to call you; and not to set your heart on any mere earthly success, or make too sure of anything.

In this tale, "good" has an ethnocentric bias, as does "God", it seems...

> You know, or perhaps you don't know, my lad, that Wellington was sent to Portugal, to help the poor folk there who were fighting against the French. God gave wisdom to our great general, and success to a good cause. So the enemy's soldiers were driven out, and Portugal was free!

In the story, "No Pay, No Work", the virtue of being kind and helpful is summed up thus; (by a kind and virtuous English boy) in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's).

> To be kind and useful is my rule (and the author goes on to say) First he had the approval of his conscience; ... second, he had pleasure in doing good; ... third, he had the gratitude and love of many; ... and lastly, and best of all, he had the approval of God, who has promised that even a cup of water given to a disciple should not lose its reward.

The morality themes occur in Nelson's readers, (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971). These themes decrease in frequency as we move away from the Victorian era, and in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) there are only two such themes and the upholders of ethics and virtue are no longer white, although they are both males (One OAM and one AnM)

1.2. CLEVERNESS, INGENUITY, RESOURCEFULNESS, COGNIZANCE, CREATIVITY: (from Child, Potter & Levine 1946, and Women on Words & Images, 1972)

These traits in many ways epitomize the active master, who interacts with the environment through an intelligent adaptation to events encountered, as he or she negotiates the functional world, or life space of everyday interaction. This intelligent course of action, carries with it a certain control or dominion over the world, plus a possession of self and an assertion of self. All these traits represent the capabilities of a rational, calculating and inventive brain that humans possess, and use to address and direct courses of action.

The results of the present study overwhelmingly credit the White Adult Male with this talent or facility.

RESULTS: WAM 26: WCM 6: OAM 5; OCM 3; AnM 19; WAF 2: OCF 1.
Male :Female 59:3 or approximately 20:1
White:Other 34:9 or approximately 4:1
Adult:Child 33:16 or approximately 2:1

Within readers the themas of cleverness, ingenuity, resourcefulness, etc, ranked fourth highest in frequency counts in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) and (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), and eighth in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

Between readers this thema ranked as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
2	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1971)
3	(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)
4	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
6	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)

The overall results indicate that White Adult Males and Male Animals predominate in this category, and that females are poorly represented here (Male to Female ratio of 20:1). Other ethnic group members are outnumbered by white males 32 to 9 and White Males outnumber Other Males 4 to 1.

The examples of males being clever are too numerous to document in detail, but here are a few excerpts from the readers to illustrate the theme.

In the (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) (refer to Illustration

Nos. 57-61, Appendix D, p. 343) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) (refer to Illustration No. 222, Appendix J, p. 396) we find a very clever figure, whose proportions fit the black male caricature in the Ginn illustrations, but for a few extra limbs. Annancy (or Anansi in the Nelson publication) uses his wit to support his indolence and his love of food. His cleverness however, is spiced with a certain deviance, in that he has to rely on this resource to support his nonconforming life style, which is based mainly on his stomach and his notion of things comfortable, as opposed to the protestant work ethic. In many ways, Annancy resembles the Black Adult Male stereotype in Trinidad and Tobago (and the Caribbean generally), who "limes" in the street with other men, and whose aspirations for a certain style of life far outways his efforts toward, or means to support it. So his skill is wrapped up in his charm, or "sweet talk", and his wit and will to coerce others into supporting him and the schemes that he devises to reverse the status quo every once in a while. Annancy is a master of wit and cunning, and he usually has little choice, as he cannot rely on brute force which is the law of the jungle, as he is a black spider and not built for that kind of power; thus he has to devise ways of getting around the system rather than operating within it. This notion of power and powerlessness takes on an interesting dimension in the story of Anansi and the Tiger, where Anansi gives us a simple example of power and labelling (in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).) :

> 'Tiger, we all know that you are strongest of us all. This is why we give your name to many things. We have Tiger lilies and Tiger stories and Tiger moths and Tiger this and Tiger that. Everyone knows that I am weakest of all. This is why nothing bears my name.

> Tiger, let something be called after the weakest one so that men may know my name too.'

The link between language and power is made clear here, and it is also made obvious that those who name things or have things named after them are those in the power positions.

Brer Rabbit stories (written by Uncle Remus, a Black slave in the United States of America, refer to Illustration No. 64, Appendix D, p.345) also deal with the notion of being clever, cunning and charming in order to avoid danger and work, and to keep supporting a life-style that more imitates the elite than the social position that seems to have been assigned. Brer Rabbit stories appear in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) (refer to Illustration No. 25, Appendix C, p.334) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) (refer to Illustration No. 196, Appendix I, p. 385). In these stories, the rabbit has to use cunning and charm to out wit or out-sly the fox, whose very nature (in children's literature) is sly and cunning. (The theme is curiously similar to beating "whitey" at the same game.) Brer Rabbit uses his verbal skills, and a very clever psychology, and thus when it would appear that Brer Fox had Brer Rabbit within his grasp, or even when Brer Fox has dealt with Brer Rabbit "for once and for all time", the story line usually finishes with Brer Rabbit romping in his freedom and laughing because he has fooled the fox and is now back in a position of control.

Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, found in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) (refer to Illustration Nos.50-52, Appendix C. p. 340) is one example of a resourceful English person, who was the sole survivor of a shipwreck. From the wrec age he makes a raft, and takes any provisions that he can secure on board, to an island (thought to have been Tobago).

He makes a home in a cave, then constructs a tall fence, then chairs and tables for his "house", and many other things of "comfort" and "safety". He has a dog, tames a wild goat, and teaches a parrot to "speak". From a tree he fashions a boat and fits it with a sail. When his clothes wear out, he makes new ones from animal skins and an umbrella to shade himself from the sun. Then he visits to the island by "savages". When one of the savages' prisoners escapes the "pot" Crusoe acquires a servant "Friday".

> 'Friday was very quick and very willing to learn, and became a great help to his master.

This theme has been criticized as a racist theme in Defoe's tale, as Friday is not recognized as having an equal standing with Crusoe, even though Friday would obviously have been more familiar with the concept of living on a tropical island than his "master". When Friday is seen to be clever, the implication is that one would never have thought that a "native" could be bright.

Eventually the hero, Crusoe, saves three officers (English) and helps them to overthrow a rebellious crew, and returns to England after fifteen years on the island. However, there is no mention in the reader, as to what happened to his willing servant, Friday.

In the same reader (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), a doctor is shown outsmarting a king, which makes him very clever indeed.

> A king, who was feeble and ill because of his idleness asked his doctor for medicine. The doctor was wiser than the king, and knew that it was not medicine but healthful exercise that he needed.

The doctor issued the king with heavy clubs, telling him "that these clubs held the medicine for his cure" ... and so the clever doctor tricks the king back to health.

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) boys are shown to be clever in their games, such as playing marbles, top spinning, and flying or designing and making kites (refer to Illustration Nos.200-202, Appendix J, p. 388) They ask intelligent questions when they accompany teacher on class outings, and offer possible explanations for events or situations that appear to be problematic (refer to Illustration No.206, Appendix J, p. 390) When one clever boy offered an explanation about loading sugar into ships, we were given a stereotype of the aesthetic body type that goes with extraordinary intelligence, which was one of the myths that psychologists invented until the exceptions disproved the rule. Anthony was, "a slim boy who wore glasses. He was a bookworm". The implication here is that Anthony was a "born genius", or that intelligence was somehow related to one's gene pool, rather than to phenotype, or efforts to learn.

There is a parade of clever men in the readers, who are caricatures or the personification of Active Mastery (refer to the list of Biographies in Table , p. 259) For examples, Christopher Columbus (refer to Illustration No.49, Appendix C, p. 339,Illustration Nos.83-83, Appendix D p. 348 Illustration Nos. 104-5, Appendix F, p.354 , Illustration No.218, Appendix J, p. 395) was convinced that the world was round, rather than flat, as was the popular myth of his time. Eventually, he convinced the King and Queen of Spain to supply him with three (small, derelict) ships, and crews, to sail off to India in the opposite direction to that normally sailed. Thus, when he did not fall off the edge of the world, and came back with tales of new found lands, thought to be "India", he was seen to validate his hypothesis. And the islands that Columbus "discovered" were named the West Indies.

All the personalities who were illustrated in Biographies (refer to Table XII, p. 259) were portrayed as clever, resourceful, creative and all those other things or qualities, that once assembled, form the configuration of the "intelligent" individual or a character of super proportions.

As a rule, the white male population in the culture presented in the readers ("reader culture"), who earned most of the scores in category 1.2., were not seen to be devious or cunning, or somehow suspicious, and by and large, their cleverness is seen to operate within the legitimate structures of scoiety. They are the ones who are forging the way for Western society, they are the tradition breakers, that are endorsed as tradition makers. However, when Booker T. Washington (refer to illustration No. 64, Appendix D, p. 345) is "clever" he has to go through "A Strange Examination" ... indeed he has to go through a series of strange examinations. He was born a slave, or of slave parents, and as such he had no schooling, but he learnt some good lessons in the house of Mrs. Ruffner, when he was her servant.

> Even to this day I never see bits of paper scattered around a house or in the street that I do not pick up at once. I never see a filthy yard without wanting to clean it, a paling off a fence that I do not want to put on, an unpainted or unwhitewashed house that I do not want to paint or whitewash, or a button off one's clothes, or a grease spot on them or on the floor that I do not want to call attention to

The way that this story is told in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) it appears to be a good thing that Booker T. Washington learnt to be compulsive and given to detail, as his college entrance examination was right up his "street". This is the way the teacher issued the examination:

> 'The next room needs sweeping, Take a broom and
> sweep it.'

And when the room was inspected, and there was not a spot of dust to be found, Booker T. Washington was the happiest soul on earth...

> 'The sweeping of the room was my college examination.
> I have had many examinations since then, but this was
> the best one I ever passed.'

Booker T. Washington had other examinations too; he had to learn middle class habits and manners...

> Up to the time that Booker went to college, ...
> he had never slept in a bes with two sheets.
> 'At first the sheets on my bed in college were
> a puzzle to me,' and so the first night he slept
> under both, then on top of both.

So Booker starts out in the College for Colored people, called the Hampton Institute. There is no doubt about the fact that Booker T. Washington was clever, but this tale is a little different to the other tales that choose a hero to praise. One could hardly imagine any Christopher Columbus or Lord Nelson having such lines as the ones that Booker T. Washington is given to recite in this story.

1.3. ACTIVITY, "DOING" (from Child, Potter & Levine 1946, and Women On Words and Images 1972)

In this category, those actions or activities that were engaged in for their own sake were classified. In many instances, the activity may have been an exercise to fill in time, such as playing games. However, the stuff of children's games is the rehearsal for future roles or imitating others especially adults. Children are more often seen filling in time with various activities, than adults, who are shown as being occupied in purposeful activities, such as working or supervising children.

RESULTS: WAM 3; WCM 12; OAM 2; OCM 9; MA 1; MC 8; WAF 1; WCF 24;
OAF 1; OCF 6; AnF 1.
Male :Female 26:33
White:Other 40:17
Adult:Child 8:59

The Activity themas within readers ranked number one in (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975), (and in both these series the population is exclusively white) and scored second rank in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1971).

The Acivity themas between readers ranked as follows, in terms of frequency of occurrence:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
2	(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)
3	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)
4	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
5	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)

The results suggest that girls engage in Activities more often than boys. The higher proportion of White Female Children in this category is a reflection of the fact that there are more activity themas in readers which have all white populations. The activities for girls have a predominantly "feminine" flavor. Girls are seen playing with dolls and pets in 30% of the activity themas; skipping or playing hopscotch in 13% of these themas, plus setting the table for a meal, baking a cake, and playing on swings. Whilst one girl is playing on the swing, she manages to drop her doll, the dog picks it up and runs away. However, Peter appears on the scene just in time to rescue the doll from the playful pup (refer to Illustration Nos. 141 & 143, Appendix H, p.368) When girls were at play, a doll was usually in the picture; being fed, bathed, groomed or simply draped over one arm in an awkward manner. At times it seemed as though a doll was part of a young girl's accessories, in the same way that an apron appeared to be part of a mother's dress requirements.

The stereotyping of play activities along gender lines, was made obvious in this scene from (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers:

> 'Let us take our dolls outside and play with them in the yard,' said Sita, 'but we must not soil them.'
>
> They played with their dolls for a while. Then suddenly Ann said, 'Let's have a dolls' wedding. Let's pretend that our dolls Linda and John are getting married.'
>
> Ann and Sita invited their friends to the dolls' wedding. The friends brought their dolls too.
>
> Let's invite the oys to our dolls' wedding, exclaimed Ann.
>
> Alloy and the other boys stopped playing marbles for a moment.
> 'A dolls' wedding.' they asked. 'You are inviting us to a dolls' wedding.'
> Then they began to laugh.
> 'Dolls' weddings are for little girls,' said Alloy.
>
> (Emphasis added)

> 'We are big boys. Big boys don't go to dolls' weddings.'
> The boys laughed again, and went on plying marbles.

In this series, (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), activities for girls are centered around a future of motherhood and domestic concerns. Boys are seen playing marbles, flying kites, spinning tops, beating pan and playing cricket. Nowhere do we see derogatory comments made about those activities designated male. Likewise, in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) there is repeated reference to sex appropriate activities. In one school scene, the teacher suggests that there would be no school materials if the ships did not come into port (implying that school materials were imported which is an interesting comment in light of notions of cultural imperialism) and then the teacher offers the class this assignment: (Emphasis added)

> Now the girls can make a list of things to use for cooking and sewing which do not come from the West Indies ...
> The boys can think of the things they use for gardening and carpentry...

In the same series (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) there is reference to the division of labor in the home. Here is a segment from the story At Home where the activities appear to be gender specific:

> Father is at work
> Mother is washing the clothes (and she must have been busy). The floors have been swept, the beds have been made, the chairs have been dusted, the cups and plates have been washed and dried.
> How clean and tidy it all is.
> ... Father will like his cool drink when he comes home hot and tired.
> ... Here comes mother! What are we to have for our meal?

(Refer to Illustration No.73, Appendix D, p.346)

In the earlier readers, it is not difficult to find the sex-typed currents in the activity themas. However, this little poem from (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) epitomizes the stereotype (refer to Illustration No.22, Appendix B, p.332): (Emphasis added)

Here is a week's work for a little girl:-

On Monday, when the day is fair,
I wash the dirty clothes.
On Tuesday I can iron them
although it rains or snows.

On Wednesday my clothes I mend,
And always like it too.
On Thursday I receive my friends-
I have nothing else to do.

Then Friday is the time to clean,
To dust and set things right
On Saturday I take a walk,
Then put all work from sight

And Sunday is the day of rest;
Of all the week it is the best.

1.4. ACIEVEMENT, AMBITION, COMPETITIVENESS, ASPIRING FOR GREATNESS VS. CHEATING, GREED AND STEALING (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images,1972)

Themas categorized under this heading were those which show a general trend for ambition or will to succeed, or strong desire for some intellectual, physical or social success. Achievement is marked by a quest for mastery or power. When the instrument of achievement was legitimate, i.e., through work, effort, ingenuity and persistance, the consequences were usually rewarded or approved of. In contrast, when ambition was sought through deviant channels and motivated by greed and impatience, there was a stamp of strong disapproval. Thus, using one's intelligence to short-circuit the route to success or fortune was sanctioned, while working hard for advancement within the confines of socially defined structures was glorified, and marked with approval.

This category appears to be a male province, and also has much to do with social class in that, those males who chose the deviant route to success were generally from the lower socio-economic ranks (and here there is an ethnic bias, as there is a high correlation between ethnicity and class location).

Conspicuous by their absence on this factor were the OAF and OCF groups. Females are not shown as achievers, or achievement oriented as often as males.

RESULTS: WAM 20; WCM 10; OAM 6; OCM 8; AnM 18; WAF 3; WCF 1; AnF 1.
Male :Female 62:5 or approximately 12:1
White:Other 34:14 or approximately 3:1
Adult:Child 29:22 or approximately 3:2

Within reading series Achievement themas ranked second in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) and third in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

Between reading series the ranking of this category in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
2	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
3	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
4	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
5	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)

Those characters who were referred to biographically (refer to Table XII,259) were, as a rule, high achievement oriented and usually channelled their efforts along legitimate pathways. While Adult Males are repeatedly presented as ambitious characters, women rarely play in part of this kind, and women from other ethnic groups are completely invisible. Other Adult Females (OAF) are not shown as ambitious, although there is a notable exception, which was not evidenced by thema analysis, that of an Antiguan potter who educates visitors on the art of her craft, in an attempt to rescue the cottage industry which she fears may die out. This story is told in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

While women were hardly mentioned as achievers, animals and animated vegetables figure as high achievers. The story is told in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) of an Ambitious Bean, who takes himself off the shelf to seek more in life, and through his efforts (and the fact that he is a bean seed without knowing it) he is transformed into a bean plant with green leaves, long stalk and flowers. The lazy bean, who stayed on the shelf is dull by comparison, as he does not grow, because he does not take the risks involved in the process of daring to succeed. The moral of the story is quite clear.

Another group of achievers who were more ambitious than they were law abiding, and thus, chose alternative routes to success, were the "animals". Male animals are deviant 15 times in the grand total of 18 occurrences, but they only manage to escape negative santioning 3 times. Once again, animal characters are used to play those roles that are mischievous or counter to popular norms in society. However, in this category, those animals that were greedy or deviant, were chastized for their wickedness. Animals are easy for children to identify with, and thus, when human behavior is disguised in an animal skin the action is somehow removed from the human stage. Rabbits, foxes, monkeys and spiders cannot truly be expected to know better, and thus their behaviors are based on the "reality principle" rather than a higher moral order or "perfection principle" (of psychoanalytic theory authored by Sigmund Freud). The animal stories often capture the lived world of the child, and thus censure comes from external authority figures rather than from internalized values. Animals are often used to avoid or cloud sensitive issues, such as race or gender, although their stereotyped roles often hint at, or only thinly disguise the human identities of these representatives.

1.5. CREATIVITY, CONSTRUCTION, EXPERIMENTATION (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images, 1972)

Those themas classified under this heading were those that emphasize actual production or experimentation, either in material forms or on the intellectual level. This category tends to overlap with 1.2. Cleverness, Ingenuity and being resourceful, however, the emphasis in this category is based on tangible products, such as building things, or conducting the experiments. Thus, themas that were assigned to this category indicate that something was actually achieved, something concrete. For example, when Pasteur discovers the link between disease and small bacteria, he has been seen to present a tangible solution to a problem by was of experimenting with the direct cause of the problem. Similarly, when school children in Trinidad are seen to be creative with their paints and brushes and mold from simple materials the shapes of masks to wear or parade at Carnival they are seen to be creative. (From (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers

(1939) and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)).

These traits were listed under Active Mastery as they indicate a direct encounter with the environment, and the fashioning of materials or ideas in such a way as to cope with or make an addition to that environment. Being able to creatively manipulate the materials and giving form or order to those materials or ideas limits the constraining aspect of living in the world, and goes even further in that through creating something or building something, one is actually creating one's world which is a powerful intervention strategy. On the whole, this was not a popular theme in the readers examined, but it is a possible theme for authors to consider in the future, and has certainly been a popular theme in those books examined in North America, as the cry has gone out, that this category has been dominated by males and underscored by females.

RESULTS: WAM 3; WCM 2; OAM 1; OCM 2; WCF 1; OAF 1; OCF 1.
Male :Female 8:3
White:Other 6:5
Adult:Child 5:7

Within reading series, the number of themas in this category was too low to rank.

Between reading series the frequency of occurrence of these themas was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
2	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)

1.6. PERSEVERENCE, INDUSTRY, INITIATIVE, PERSISTANCE, EFFICIENCY VS. LAZINESS AND INEFFICIENCY. (From Child, Potter & Levine,1946, and Women on Words & Images,1972)

Under this category were those items that show the protagonist demonstrating how one overcomes all manner of obstacles by efforts in one direction. Such concentrated efforts require personal fortitude, a sense of autonomy, or independence of thought, which allows for forging ahead and progress in spite of various obstacles or setbacks that make things difficult at different points in time.

This factor emphasizes the instrument of success, the work or effort that is eventually rewarded by success of some kind. The ambition or achievement orientation was shown to be the desire or aspiration for success or wealth or power, whereas, perseverance and industry are the factors that transform the desire into efforts in the direction of actually attaining the goals set. However, the two traits are in tandem, one with the other, as the desire or the will to achieve must be present before the actual work involved is directed. Once again, the theme is dominated by White Adult Males, who seem to dominate most of the Active Mastery subcategories.

RESULTS: WAM 23; WCM 7; OAM 7; OCM 5; AnM 7; WAF 6; AnF 1.

Male :Female	49:7	or	7:1
White:Other	36:12	or	3:1
Adult:Child	36:12	or	3:1

Within reading series, the number of themas in this subcategory ranked second in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), third in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), fifth in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and twelfth in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

Between reading series, the ranking of themas in this subcategory in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Readers (1960)
2	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
3	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
4	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
5	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)

The results indicate that women are conspicuous by their low scores on this subcategory (ratio of Male : Female 7:1), and Other Females are totally out of the picture.

(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), Book Three, Where We All Came From, emphasizes the theme of pioneers in Trinidad and Tobago and their efforts to succeed in the building of a nation (refer to Illustrations in Appendix F, pp 354-9)

In the story, Under the Moon (refer to Ilustration Nos.109-110, p.355) two farmers are compared, the hard working generous and jolly farmer (who has a wife who is fat , jolly, happy and proud of her husband), and the neighboring farmer, who is mean and greedy who "scraped and saved year after year to become rich." But this second farmer "never spent his money. He never bought clothes for his wife; she never had new curtains or cushions for the house; she never had new pots and pans.." When the wood sprite enters the scene, it is to "have a little fun with the farmer, because he had heard how mean and greedy he was." The wood sprite offers the farmer "anything under the sun" as reward for some flour that the wood sprite had requested of the farmer's wife. The mean farmer wants the farm next door, but he is tricked, as the meeting with the sprite was scheduled at night- and everything was "under the moon".

The behavior of the farmer is met with disapproval, as the story line has the sprite punishing the meaness and greediness of the farmer (and there is no hint that the behavior of the sprite is out of order). The sprite threw a bag of flour over the farmer's head, and "gave him a push and he rolled to the bottom of the hill." For his mean and greedy behavior the farmer is punished, but the farmer's wife (who is kind and generous to the sprite) receives a new dress as reward for her behavior.

In (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) another tale is told of some French immigrants who settled in the Diego Martin area of Trinidad (refer to Illustration No.121, Appendix F, p. 358). The story line goes like this: (Emphasis added)

> Hugo's father worked hard with the planting, and it took many years of labor to make it the 'Land of Promise' of which Monsieur St Laurent had told him.

The land stayed in the family for many generations, but there is no hint as to whose labor it was, that was required by Hugo's father, to build the 'Land of Promise', and so the reader is left with the impression that 'Hugo's father' toiled in the hot sun (and if that was the case, then Hugo's father is the exception rather than the rule in the population of French landowners in Trinidad at that time).

In the same reader,(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) ,the line of English immigration is represented by John the English Boy (refer to Illustration No.111, Appendix F, p.356). This story is another example that illustrates the theme of industry and hard work. John's parents are affected by the industrial revolution in England and the fact that rich industrialists were buying up land to build factories.

> Rich men were buying all the land around on which to build these factories. The people who worked on John's farm were leaving to work in the town ...

The bigger farms were able to supply the towns with food, but even so, they could not produce enough and thus, the big farmers were buying up the small farms to get more land. This trend was **particularly sad** for John's parents, as they knew that they could never hold out against the factories and the big landowners. This theme is that of capitalism tied with elitism in the British scheme of "progress", which is the root of overseas imperialism, according to Marxist theorists. John sides with the powerful set by going off with Captain Picton and Sir Ralph Abercromby (and eigth thousand men) to capture Trinidad.

John is an orderly for Picton,

> He was kept busy enough running errands and cleaning the brass buttons on Captain Picton's uniform with its gold braid and medals.

With Sir Ralph Abercromby away on "further conquests" Captain Picton was inserted as governor of Trinidad for the interim period until Abercromby could be free to take up the post of governor. At that time Trinidad was said to be populated by the Spanish, French and some English settlers (however, there is no mention of the African population). While Picton was the governor of Trinidad an argument broke out between two planters over a portion of land. Picton settled the case by offering the land in question to a new settler.

> He (Capt. Picton) turned to John, who was always as near at hand as possible to help his hero.
> 'John, this land is yours so long as you work it for the good of the island. Send for your father and mother to help you...'

> Sugar farming was new work for them and hard work too, but John's father was wise about the land and it flourished.

So John was handsomely rewarded for his services to Captain Picton... although some might say that there were hints of "nepotism" ... or a good case of "being in the right place at the right time", coupled with, "it's not what you know but who you know that counts", in this little tale about the English boy starting out in Trinidad.

Another story in the reader, (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), is the story of Lazy Jack. This story has an interesting twist. Jack is the picture of stupidity (refer to Illustration No.114, Appendix F, p. 356). When he works, he manages to lose his earnings through inefficient handling of the same, or to be blunt, this young man is truly the "dumb" one in the story. But, the twist is in the story's ending, which takes on a sexist turn: (Emphasis and comments added)

> On the Monday ... Jack worked for a man who gave him an old donkey. Now the donkey was heavy, but Jack was strong, and at last he managed to hoist it on to his shoulders ...
>
> As he walked slowly home, he passed the house of a rich man who had a beautiful daughter. This beautiful girl was deaf and dumb and had never laughed in her life. Her father had promised that whoever succeeded in making her laugh should marry her.
>
> It chanced that she was looking out of a window as Jack was passing with his donkey, and at the sight she burst into laughter. Her father (viz., 'owner') kept his promise and married her (viz., 'property of the father') to Jack (viz., 'fool'), which was more than he deserved. ... (Consolation prize)...Jack, however, brought his poor mother to live with them and he looked after her to the end of her days.

In this story, the power is with the men, and the powerlessness is with the women ... they are victims indeed, when even an idiot has more control or power than either the mother or the rich man's daughter.

Besides, we hear nothing about the daughter's feelings or protests in this story, as the decisions are taken by the father and then Jack.

Perhaps the most hideous tale in all the readers is located in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), Where We All Came From, the story of Bafa and Acori, the Twins From West Africa, (refer to Illustration Nos.115-117, Appendix F, p.357) which is about a very generous, highly moral and successful Englishman; an older version of John, who had "earned" his piece of land in the service of Captain Picton. Stereotypes abound in this story, and one is left with the impression that slavery was a "good deal"; a backdoor into the Empire, as it were.

Bafa and Acori (who were disobedient and wandered from their village, in spite of warnings from their parents) were stolen (by fierce Arabs, refer to Illustration No.116, Appendix F, p.357 , for the image presented) and were taken on a slave ship to Trinidad (But luckily for them, they got better treatment than the rest, and were only punished when they were kind to their fellows), where their names were changed to "Maria" and "Alexandro" (rather than "Mary" and "Alexander"), and they were sold to planters. "Alexandro" was sold to an cruel Spanish planter and lucky "Maria" was sold to John (the Englishman). (Emphasis added)

> John and his wife were very kind to Maria and taught her how to help in the house...
>
> John discovered where Alexandro worked and bought him from his master. He was brought back to the house and taught how to work in the garden. So Maria and Alexandro were together again, cared for by the kindly Clothilde (another happy slave)...
>
> When slavery was 'abolished' ... The slaves in the fields had to work part of each day for the next seven years before they were free. The slaves in the house had to work for four years.

> On John's estate the slaves went on working as before. They were happy and well cared for, and when they eventually were free they still wanted to work for John.
>
> After four years, when they were eleven years old, Maria and Alexandro were given new clothes and told thay they might leave if they wished to. They cried and begged to stay , at which John was very pleased. He did not want to lose them.
>
> When Alexandro grew up he became an overseer for John and was a great and trusted help.
> When Maria grew older she became the nurse to John's grandchildren, who loved her....

At the end of the story, one thing is certain, i.e., that John is a really wonderful person, and "Alexandro" and "Maria" were very fortunate indeed. This hints very strongly of ethnocentrism.

A tale similar to that of Bafa and Acori, is told of an Indian boy , Ram. (Refer to Illustration No. 123, Appendix F, p. 359)This little scene will serve to illustrate the theme: (Emphasis added)

> Many overseers were standing by watching the new arrivals. Ram watched them with awe, wondering what part they would play. But as soon as the doctor had finished, the overseers hurried to the superintendent asking for helpers to work on their estates. Ram hoped that he would not be going with the tall stern one. Just then a fat, jolly man patted him on the head and said, 'You're a fine lad. Where do you come from.' Of course, Ram could not understand what he said, as he had spoken no English in Calcutta. But he couldn't help smiling back, and he hoped that he would be going with him.
>
> Ram married and had children who went to school in Trinidad. They learned to read and write English, and the old language Ram spoke in India is almost forgotten...

The story of Chang the Chinese Boy (refer to Illustration No.121, Appendix F, p. 358) traces the history of Chinese immigration to Trinidad, and how they managed to persevere and succeed in their new land. Emphasis is made of the fact that the Chinese immigrants chose to come (unlike the majority of Trinidad's immigrants)

Chang's father was a merchant coming to sell his goods in Trinidad. He brought carved chests of teak and camphor wood, packed full of embroidered linens, silk brocades, jade and ivory. After some time looking for suitable premises to use for trade, they found a building in Frederick Street which would serve to display their precious goods. Many ladies, Spanish, French and English, were glad to buy these lovely things, and trade flourished. When the business was established, and Chang was of age, his father returned to his family who had remained behind in China. Chang settles down and marries a Chinese girl, making his home in Port of Spain.

The theme of this reader, (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), emphasizes the work of those who were building the nation of Trinidad and Tobago, and the process of dispossessing those aspects of their cultural heritage that were at variance with the notion of "assimilation" or "integration", which is the process of "fitting in" to the structures and the predominantly English mode of the English colonizers. The theme of "assimilation" is common throughout the reader, and the work that must have gone into making the changes that were required of the dominant system of values and practices. This tale of the Portuguese immigrants serves to underline the theme that runs through all the tales of the immigrants who peopled the nation.

> Of course Pedro soon learned to speak English, but his mother and father still spoke Portuguese. When Pedro married and had children, they went to school in Port of Spain. Portuguese was strange to them although they loved to hear the stories that Pedro tried to remember from his childhood.

The theme of Perseverence, Industry, Initiative, Persistance and Efficiency is important in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) and indeed a lot of the initiative taken by those who came to Trinidad was directed at adopting those aspects of English Culture that were important to success in the new land. The theme of the whole reader is captured in its concluding paragraphs:

> It took many years of very hard work to clear hills and valleys to drain swamps, and plant crops. In the days when cultivation of crops first began there were no big machines to help to clear the land, and tools were very simple. Even the animals to draw the carts and ploughs had to be brought to the island in the small ships of those years long ago...

Of course, the small ships were used to bring a lot more of Trinidad's resources than the animals to draw the ploughs and the relevant hardware that was needed for the process of development. The small ships were used to import the software, the human resources, the directives from the metropolitan center: Trinidad was a colony and that meant that it was an English territory located in the tropics, and thus everything related to government and culture was imported and the immigrants had to submit to English authority while they were in the process of becoming "assimilated" into the socio-cultural arrangement of the island. This reader makes repeated reference to the over-determining factor of cultural imperialism, rule from metropolitan England and the tone of the message is itself so ethnocentric, that it serves to perpetuate the trend.

1.7. ADVENTUROUSNESS, CURIOSITY, EXPLORATION, MOBILITY (From Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women On Words and Images, 1972)

Themas assigned to this category were those that deal with the sense of discovery when one pits oneself against the world, or the unknown, or the unexplored territories of the human world. In the world of the child, curiosity is that reaching beyond the realm of his or her known experience, and is often indicated when the child wanders away from the familiar world of the home and the family setting. In the process of "growing up", it is this need to explore and expand one's awareness of the world that fuels the process of becoming, which opens a sensitivity to the possible or the attainable in relation to that which is known, or to the skills that one already has at his or her disposal. One source of this awareness of the world "out there" is the wealth of experiences bound in children's literature, and thus available to the child who has mastered the art of relating to the printed word or text. In negotiating the word, the child is brought into contact with other lands, other cultures and adventures in the history of a culture, and numerous fictional and futuristic worlds that allow the child to imagine and explore and embrace as part of one's own wealth of experience. Again there is a gender bias in readers in that the male child is exposed to all manner of possibilities, he may encounter danger, or make numerous discoveries, he may see men discovering the solution to diseases, or creating technical devices that save labor or increase communication or productivity. Men are pictured in all manner of roles. The same cannot be said of females. Females, by and large, are structured by a world that assigns them to domestic concerns. Very few women have access to the spheres that have been defined as important or assigned "power" or "greatness". Thus, in the readers, where the picture tends to be weighted by traditional structures, values and roles, rather than the contemporary world, or even an ideal world, females are none too daring! Females are constructed along "feminine" lines rather than the multiplicity of roles that modern women perform.

RESULTS: WAM 20; WCM 9; OAM 2; OCM 3; AnM 4; WCF 5; AnF 1.
Male :Female 38:6 or approximately 6:1
White:Other 34:5 or approximately 7:1
Adult:Child 22:19

Within reader frequency counts place this category fourth in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), and tenth in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

Between readers the ranking of themas in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
2	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
4	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)

The results indicate that by and large, it is white males, particularly White Adult Males, who are adventurous, curious, mobile and explorers, along with all those other traits that signify Active Mastery. Thus, the early explorers, such as Columbus, Raleigh, Cabot, Cartier and other heroes figure prominantly in this category.This is not surprising in view of the criticism that history has been defined along the lines of European culture and has a masculine character.

The results also indicate a conspicuous lack of women generally, and Other Females in particular. Thus, while white males and male animals are actively exploring the world with curious intent, minority people are hardly ever presented in this light (ratio of Male:Female 6:1 and White:Other 7:1), and when they do display this behavior, the actors are invariably male. Thus while beans, morocoys, dogs and birds are being adventurous and learning in an active mode, the West Indian child rarely sees any person resembling himself of herself, displaying such lordable qualities.

In (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), we have a great hunter from the Arawak community who lowers himself down a deep hole in in "skyland" and discovers "earthland". (Refer to Illustration Nos.88-90, Appendix D, p. 348)

> The Great Hunter looked round him in wonder. He walked through the long green grass. He splashed in the cool rivers. He hunted and he fished. Then he took as much food as he could, went back to the hole, and climbed up, up, till he came again to Skyland.

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian series (1971), a story is told of Ti Jean, another hunter who ventures into the jungle, even though he has been told about Papa Bois (whose father was a dwen, and his mother was a La Diablesse) who was so frightful in appearance, but kind to all except those who needlessly hunt and kill wild animals in the forest. Ti Jean ignores even Papa Bois' warning, and ventures into the jungle to hunt.

> All night long Ti Jean walked deeper and deeper into the forest ... he saw the same deer ahead of him, and each time he fired he missed his mark.

> ... At last he could go no farther. He lay down and fell asleep. But just before he fell asleep, he thought he heard a raucous laugh, and a mocking voice exclaim:
> 'Stuff and nonsense! A pack of Nancy stories! Poor fool Ti Jean! Poor Fool, Ti Jean! Do you believe in Papa Bois.'

And so, Ti Jean is never seen again, and the black hunter adventurer is not exactly rewarded for his self assertion, but is thought to have died in the forest on the night that he set out to hunt manicou.

There are few females in the readers who are curious and adventurous, but in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) there are two exceptions to this rule; Pandora in the story, Pandora's Box, and Alice in, Alice In Wonderland. Both of these stories are about white female children.

In the story, Pandora's Box (refer to Illustration No.46, Appendix C, p. 338) there is a sexist as well as an agist theme: The story is set in a world where every person is a child and life is always pleasant.

> There was no hard work to be done and no lessons to be learned, so you may know that life was very pleasant.

But this happy life was reversed when a young girl was curious and wanted to discover what was in the dark wooden box, that had a carving of a woman's face on it. When Pandora opens the lid to peep inside, a swarm of winged creatures filled the room, and there was a loud peel of thunder and the cottage grew dark. One of the winged creatures settled on Pandora's brow "and would have stung her, if Epimetheus had not come up and brushed it away."

> Now these ugly little things were the first Troubles which had been seen in the world. There was one called Temper, and another Sulks, and another Greed, as well as many others with names quite as ugly as themselves.

> After a few moments Pandora opened the window, and the Troubles flew out into the open air. After that the children of the world were only happy now and again instead of all the time; and instead of keeping always young, they grew up to become men and women, and at last grew old and died.

Pandora's reaction to these events has a feminine flavor, she falls on the floor and sobs, "as if her heart would break", and then a little voice comes from the box, and asks to be released, but Pandora is afraid and so she takes the route of deferring to male authority.

> 'My dear Epimetheus,' said Pandora, turning to the boy, 'What shall I do?' ...
> 'You may as well open it, and as the lid seems heavy I will help you.'
>
> So they raised the lid, and out flew a shining little person with golden hair and fairy wings. She flew to Epimetheus and touched the spot where the Trouble had stung him, and at once the pain was gone
>
> 'I am called Hope,' said the bright fairy; 'and because I am so cheery I was packed in that box with the Troubles. My work will be to follow them about and cure people whom they may hurt.'

Pandora's curiosity is seen in this story to be the beginning of all those troubles in life, and it echoes the story of Adam and Eve, and Eve's role in the notion of original sin, where Eve was tempted by the serpant in the Garden of Eden, and it was her deed that caused the expulsion of human beings from the perfect environment of the garden, so that humans would always have "Troubles".

Lewis Caroll's story of Alice in Wonderland, in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) is one of the few stories in children's literature that positively reinforces a young girl's curiosity.

Alice is a rare character indeed in the "reader culture", as she dares to be curious, and discovers many delightful things in "Wonderland". This tale is a refreshing relief for young girls discovering themselves through images in the readers. However, this theme has no female representative from "Other" ethnic groups, and thus, while Alice is novel among the White Child Female characters in the readers studied, there is no one in the readers that resembles the majority of the female students in Trinidad's classrooms.

1.8. APPRENTICESHIP, COMING OF AGE (from Women On Words & Images, 1972)

In this category we find those behaviors that mark the child as being engaged in the process of becoming an adult in the community or culture. The child is seen to master an adult skill or to behave in a style befitting an adult. In story themas, it is mainly boys who are shown as being worthy of trust, or feel pride or self worth at the prospect of becoming an adult in the public domain. Women on Words and Images (1972) make the distinction between goals for adults in that boys are seen to grow up to become men, rather than fathers, while girls grow up to be mothers. When the girl masters a skill befitting an adult, it is usually a domestic skill. Thus, in an age where male and female roles have become more interchangable, the culture presented in the readers is lagging far behind, offering images that were more true of the past, or postconfigurations of society, than the present or contemporary scene.

RESULTS: WCM 4; OAM 2: OCM 1; MC 2; OCF 1.
Male :Female 7:1
White:Other 4:4 or 1:1

Adult:Child 2:8 or 1:4

This is not a popular theme in the readers studied, although all the stories about "children in other lands" or other cultures, make reference to the theme that boys help their fathers with the hunting, or fishing, farming or caring for animals, or the building of canoes or houses; while the girls work with their mothers preparing meals, making clothes or washing dishes.

In (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), the sons of the immigrants usually take over family property or businesses, such as Chang the Chinese boy who takes over the business that his father has set up, and Alexandro who becomes John's overseer. In this reader, the sons or younger generation (as in the case of Alexandro the ex-slave) are shown as more integrated into Trinidad society, and it is the sons who also shed those aspects of the parent culture to fit more easily into English culture and English modes of communication.

1.9. EARNING, TRADING, ACQUIRING THINGS, MONEY OR CAPITAL VS. RECEIVING GIFTS OR BEING PROVIDED FOR (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946)

The segregation of males and females into the public and private or domestic spheres (respectively) is the image presented in the readers. Thus, it is hardly surprising that males dominate this category on the positive end, being seen earning and trading and working for a living, providing for their families and even having a retinue of servants or employees; while females were more often seen receiving gifts, or being provided for. However, there appears to be some disparity in the scores of this category, which accords more with class or socio-economic factors, and thus compounds the gender loading and the location of "Other" ethnic groups. Thus, when black women are earning and trading, it is not a productive or creative or power accumulating enterprise, but the very opposite, as these women work out of necessity or for survival. These women are situated at the bottom of the status and prestige ladder, selling fruit and vegetables in the market place, or vending fish in the streets from door to door. In contrast, those women who are seen buying the goods or wares, are the middle class housewives who are seen as far more prestigeous or privileged than the women who are selling from behind their rough stalls, or carrying a basket of fishes on theirs heads from door to door. (refer to Illustration Nos.210-212, Appendix J, p. 392)

The men in the job market are not so poor and their wares, more expensive by far. The variety of trades or occupations are not so limited for men, nor are their earnings so meager. (Refer to the lists of Occupations, Appendix K pp.399-403)

RESULTS:

WAM	WCM	OAM	OCM	MC	WCF	OAF	OCF
+6;	0;	+5;	0;	0;	0;	+5;	0.
	-4		-4	-1	-4	-1	-3

+ indicates earning, trading, and acquiring things.
- indicates receiving gifts and being provided for.

Within readers, this category is ranked third in (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)(where the children appear to receive gifts frequently. Refer to Illustration No.95, Appendix E, p.352) and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) (where once again the children are seen getting cricket bats, dolls, books and in one scene mother and children receive gifts from father when he returns from a trip abroad(refer to Illustration Nos.

133-135, Appendix H, pp.364-365) and eighth in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) where adult life and the world of work figures more prominantly. Women and children in a middle class setting appear to receive gifts and "surprises" to enhance their enjoyment of life as the gifts are not essential or even practical in many cases. The gifts are usually items of luxury rather than necessity, and adults appear to like giving gifts to children and protecting their "minors".

Between readers, the ranking of themas in this category in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
2	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)
3	(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
4	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
5	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)

The notion of receiving gifts or being provided for figures prominantly in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949). These gifts are usually sex-typed, in that Janet receives a puppy, a doll, a new red coat (for the cold weather, which is common in England but not so very common in Trinidad) and a music box. Jill receives some kittens. John receives a toy aeroplane (after looking at trains, a blue boat, a little man in blue, a Jack-in-the-box, a blue policeman, etc), and Peter is given a dog called Darky.

In (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975), the gifts that the children receive are also sex-typed. Dora gets a doll, the dog gets a ball, while Jack gets a jumping toy clown, and a cricket bat. Father buys Dick a kite, and for notifying firemen about a fire, Dick gets to ride in a fire engine and is given a tour of the fire station.

In (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), this theme continues, father gives Carol a kitten, mother buys a cricket bat for Peter and a doll for Carol, and books for both children. When father returns from abroad,

> ... he has a present for each one. He gives Mummy a pretty ring. He gives Carol a party dress and a doll for her birthday. There is a book for Peter. He can draw in his book.

Father has also returned with a gift for the dog.

From the list of gifts that are given to children, it seems as though the gift for girls is a doll, or in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) a doll's house, while boys receive a wider variety of gifts, but then, boys are shown as being more active and have a wider variety or scope of interests and sports.

1.10. MANLINESS, PROTECTIVENESS (from Women on Words & Images, 1972)

This category is entirely male, by its very definition, and is a thema that occurs most often in the earliest readers. Older brothers are quoted as feeling "manly" when they care for their younger female sibling. For, by and large, the off-spring in readers is patterned such that the first born child is male, and the second born is female (and there are few families in the readers with more than two children, except in animal families; piglets and chickens are more numerous).

RESULTS: WAM 5; WCM 5; OCM 1; AnM 1
Male :Female 12:0
White:Other 10:1
Adult:Child 5:6

Between reading series this thema ranked as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
2	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
3	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
4	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)

In this category there is directreference to "manliness", and the implication was that being "manly" was a good quality to be assigned. Usually it was said to be manly when boys showed compassion or charity, were protective of women, younger children or the elderly. As often, manliness was congruent with a certain physical strength, as well as "strength of character". Manliness infers a sense of social responsibility and it is somehow assumed that men will be caretakers of others.

These themas are not as popular as other active mastery themas, and occur mainly in the earlier readers. Here is an example from (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), where the author is commenting on a picture of a little boy and his even younger sister, both perched on a garden swing (refer to Illustration No.17, Appendix B, p.331)

> 'Splendid!'says every little boy who looks at this pretty picture and thinks of the fun there is in a good swing. 'How nice!' says every little girl as she sees how carefully Fred keeps his sister from falling.
> 'His (Fred's) feet did not touch the ground; and sometimes the swing went very fast. But do you think thathe was afraid. No, my little friends. He did not fear, because his father was pushing the swing, and was there to take care of him.
> ... On the day that May was three years old, Fred took her to have her first swing. Fred is so much bigger than May that he feels like a man when she is left in his care.

1.11. BRAVERY, HEROISM, STRENGTH, COURAGE (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women On Words & Images, 1972)

These terms do not require any elaborate definition, and since strength and courage are part of the stereotypes masculine configuration of qualities, it is hardly surprising that actors are male whenever such roles are to be filled by characters in the course of the story line being played out. Males are key figures in rescue operations, while females are frequently assigned to the part of helpless victim needing to be retrieved from danger or perceived danger (as females seem to perceive danger in situations and contexts that would not be similarly perceived if a male were the interpreter). In some instances, younger boys come to the aid of more mature females who seem to wander into danger almost unwittingly (as they are not as worldly as boys, and their fragility and innocence appears to be encouraged by the fact that when they get into trouble, there is a male there to lend assistance). Men and boys seem somehow to possess their faculties when they encounter danger of difficulties, whereas women and girls just "go to pieces" and plead for help, which feminist writers have labelled "the Miss Muffet Syndrome".

RESULTS: WAM 23; WCM 3; OAM 10; OCM 1; AnM 10; WAF 2; AnF 3.
Male :Female 47:5 or 9:1
White:Other 28:11 or 3:1
Adult:Child 35:4 or 9:1

Note: When women are shown being courageous or demonstrating physical strength, the behavior is motivated by a "maternal instinct" like quality, as females appear to take any risk to retrieve children from harm, e.g., the lioness that retrieves her cub from the hunters' camp in (1) Nelson's

Royal Reader (1890's). There is another tendency to blend bravery with self sacrifice when women are the actors. In contrast to this trend, males tend to be more adept when it comes to these things; the impossible is attainable with seeming ease.

Within readers, themas in this category are ranked number one in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), number five in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

Between readers, the ranking of themas according to frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
2	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
3	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
4	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
5	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
6	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)

The picture that emerges from the results is that the White Adult Male is once again the prominant figure in this category. In the following example from (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) the theme of bravery is well illustrated along with the abhorrence of any suggestion that the Englishmen should be held as slaves, which is rather ironic in view of the fact that children in the Caribbean were reading this text at one point in time. (Emphasis and parenthetical comments added)

> More than two hundred years ago, seven English sailors were captured by pirates and carried off to Algiers on the coast of Africa. Here they were treated not only as prisoners, but as slawes.
> (The implication being, that Englishmen were not meant to be slaves.)

> ... They resolved to make their escape ... any fate would be better than bondage; and the difficulties they met with only made them more determined to succeed.

So they made a boat in separate parts, and it took them a long time to complete. The boat could only take five, however, and so they cast lots to settle who would go and who would remain behind. All was not easy for those who went on the boat; the boat leaked and had to be baled out constantly, the wind was scarcely any help, the sun was fierce and they only had a pocket compass to help direct their course.

> Will Adams was their leader, and was last to give in. His hand still nervously grasped the tiller, and his eye was bent eagerly towards the horizon.

Just when all hope seems to have been lost to the men, they sight a turtle, slaughter it, feed on its flesh and drink its blood (a pleasant image for children to grasp!) However, they are encouraged by the sighting of land, the mountains of Minorca.

> By ten o'clock that night they had landed and 'gave thanks to Him who had brought them into the haven, where they would be.'
> ... They returned to England in one of the king's ships and the canvas boat was placed as a memorial in the great church in Minorca...

The stories from the Odyssey, in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), tell of the strength and courage of Homer's Odysseus. The same theme predominates in Stories from the Iliad, Stories of King Arthur and his Knights, Martin Rattler, and Robinson Crusoe featured in this series. These tales or legends were meant to swell the pride of westerners, whose roots are wrapped up in these stories. However, the characters are all

White Adult Males; women and other ethnic groups do not figure as actors or aggressors in these tales, although women come in when there are "temptations", "need for nurturance", and "a beauty to be rescued from foreigners or enemy forces".

In the same series, (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) the tale is told of Admiral Lord Nelson (refer to Illustration No.48, Appendix C, p.339) "the greatest sailor in History" (i.e. English History) who, when war broke out with France in 1803, was ordered to destroy the French Fleet under Admiral Villeneuve. Nelson chases the French Fleet from the Mediterranean to the West Indies and finally engages the same in battle, off the coast at Trafalgar, where the hero was killed in battle.

> When the cliffs of Spain rose up through the rain,
>   then the fight raged fearfully:
> Till 'England's pride' heroic, died, 'mid the
>   shout of Victory.
>   And Villeneuve muttered: 'Save who can!
>   It's that little one-eyed, one armed man!'

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) Whale Hunting in the West Indies, tells of men (Other Adult Males) who were very courageous, (refer to Illustration No.221, Appendix J, p.395):(Emphasis and parenthetical comments added)

> These men must be brave, because hunting a whale can be very dangerous. Although a whale is not usually savage, when it is harpooned it will naturally try as hard as it can to get free. One blow from its powerful tail is enough to smash a whale boat to pieces. So the people and the expensive equipment in the boat are in constant danger. A passing brush from the fin of a whale is enough to overturn the boat.
> The harpooner ... sometimes uses a harpoon gun, but usually he relies on his own strength. His job calls for a strong arm, good eye, and steady nerves.
> (implication: Occupation Harpooner; no woman need apply)

1.12. DOMINANCE, LEADERSHIP, POWER, ABILITY TO MANIPULATE OUTCOMES (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images,1972)

This category is assigned to those who have control or power over others. Dominance or power is the ability or demonstration of that ability, to impose one's will,or direct the course of action, or to sanction others. This characteristic has its mild form in suggestions offered (and seen to be carried out) and its stronger form in orders issued, motivated by a character's egotistical needs or else required of necessity in the process of nurturing others.

RESULTS: WAM 39; WCM 5; OAM 16; OCM 1; AnM 25; WAF 10; WCF 2; OAF 12; OCF 1: AnF 1.

Male :Female	86:26	or	4:1
White:Other	56:30	or	2:1
Adult:Child	77:9	or	9:1

Note: The character of dominance however, is qualitatively different in different contexts, and reflects more the relative status positions of the actors within those situations where dominance is displayed. When women were dominant, or powerful, the subjects were children. Similarly, when children displayed dominance or power, the subjects were often animals or smaller children. Thus, dominance and submission vary according to the power differentials of the characters involved, and the situation or context containing the action.

Within readers the analysis of themas ranks this subcategory number one in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), number two in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) and (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960); number three in (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949); number four in (9) Oliver & Boyd's

Happy Venture Series (1975); and number five in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970).

Between Readers, the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
2	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
3	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
4	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
5	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
6	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)

The picture that emerges from these results is that White Adult Males are the group attributed with authority or dominance in the culture created in the readers studied. In qualitative terms, the scenes where White Adult Males were dominant indicated that this group of men were actually controlling a wider sphere of influence than the other groups. When women were in control, they were not controlling employees or a group of men or other women, but rather, they were keeping their children away from harm or giving them orders as to how they were expected to behave in the house. When Other Adult Males and Females were in situations of control or dominance a similar pattern was found. Very often these adults were teachers controlling a class of children.

An example of the theme of dominance and control is taken from (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) to illustrate this very popular theme. A father tells the tale of an Escape From the Wreck (which was taken from The Swiss Family Robinson). Here the father takes control of an adverse situation and secures the co-operation of his family in overcoming the problems at hand:

> When I roused the boys at dawn, and led them with their mother on deck, the sea was calmer.
> 'My children', I said, 'the sailors have deserted the ship but we must not despair. If we do all we can to help ourselves, God will help us. Let us try to find materials for building a raft.'

Father interacts with his sons, and preparations are made for the raft, the supplies and all that is necessary for their safe departure, but mother is never in the picture as an active decision maker, or co-worker. The language of the text puts the wife and the children in a passive mode, for example: (Emphasis added)

> I then placed the four boys and my wife each in a cask, and was about to follow them when ...
>
> In the first tub was my wife; close behind her little Frank. The next two contained the ammunition, the sail-cloth, the tools the provisions and the chickens. Fritz occupied the fifth; Ernest and Jack the sixth and seventh. I had taken the last for myself, that I might guide the vessel by the stern oar which served as a rudder.

In this example, father is obviously taking the matter in hand, keeping his reason and intelligently guiding the course of the action and taking full responsibility for his family. In this sequence the wife remains totally silent, and the boys are given more important roles to play in the escape from the wreck.

1.13. WORLDLY KNOWLEDGE, COMMON SENSE AND RATIONALITY. (from Women On Words & Images, 1972)

The wider mobility of males places them at a distinct advantage when it comes to worldy knowledge, or common sense notions of reality. They appear to gather information and encounter the world in an intelligent and rational manner. As the young boys in "reader culture" are some years older and bigger than their sisters, there is already a pattern established where the brother can act as teacher or "knower" in this relationship, and thus, we find brothers explaining things and events to their more protected and less adventurous sisters. However, it is the adults who have the major role to play in educating children. Fathers tell stories of Napoleon and Wellington, and teachers are pedagogues by trade.

RESULTS: WAM 11; WCM 2; OAM 6; OCM 2; WAF 2; OAF 1; AnF 1.
Male:Female 20:4 or 5:1
White:Other 15:8 or 2:1
Adult:Child 20:3 or 7:1

Between readers, the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
2	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
3	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
4	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
	(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)

This thema was not a popular one, but the results show the familiar pattern of White Adult Males scoring the highest number of points while female children are simply excluded from the subcategory.

In (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) there is an example of a father advising his son about career choice, and the moral of *Don't Be Too Sure*.

> 'When I see folk, as the saying goes, counting their chickens before they are hatched, it brings to mind what I read lately about the famous Napoleon Bonaparte.'
> 'Oh let me hear about him father.
> You can talk quite well at your work, and I like to hear what you get out of those learned books that you read.'
> 'This was taken out of a *large* book, written by an Earl - the Life of the great William Pitt,' said the father; '*and it is all true* - *I have no doubt of it*.'

The implication given here is that a book written by an *English Earl*, especially a *large* one, would be *true*.

> 'When Bonaparte was ruling France, he wished to rule over Old England too; and so, being sure of the conquest, he fixed on the very time when he would come over and invade us ...

As you can see, father is very knowledgable, and very English, as the perspective is strongly ethnocentric. After reading (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) one is left with the impression that the English and the French were less than friendly, and still further, that the English were superior by comparison.

In (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) an older brother George, tells his younger sister Lily about *The Rabbits*.

> One day George took Lily to see some of the little creatures that live in the rabbit town...
> Then brother and sister walked up the side of the hill to where they saw the holes in which the rabbits live...
> 'This is rabbit town', said George, 'All under the ground on which we are standing there are houses and streets made by the rabbits.'

> 'The streets are like tunnels, going every way - some up and down, and some across. The passages, or tunnels, are called burrows.'
> 'At the bottom of them the rabbits make their nests or houses, of soft hay, dry leaves and little tufts of fur from their own bodies. Here the young ones, or baby rabbits, are kept till they are able to run about.'

Thus, George is clearly demonstrating his knowledge, and relating this information to his more naive sister, Lily.

In (7) Blackies Tropical Reader (1962) information givers and receivers are not assigned in any haphazard way, but by a systematic arrangement that accords to traditional status patterns in the community. Teachers and fathers tell the inquisitive boys and girls many pieces of useful knowledge (especially, if the children are planning to make a career in the field of Agriculture or General Biology). When there is a peer group assembled, it is the boys who dispense the information to the girls. Thus knowledge, like power, is divided along age and gender lines. Mr. Hill tells his son John about The Bat, The Cat, The Rat, and he tells May about The Horse, The Cow, and then Uncle Tom tells Jim about Milk and Butter, The Manatee, or Sea Cow, The Duck ... and so on. The whole reader is dispensing information about animals and plants, but the pattern of relation between the informer and the informee is biased along gender lines, with Adult Males as the authorities on most topics. Jane and Mary Hill prove to be very good listeners, and would delight any teacher who was comfortable with the passive learner, or what Jean Paul Sartre refers to as the "Digestive" model, and Paulo Friere refers to as the "Banking Concept" of instruction.

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), teachers figure prominantly as "knowers". At times it would appear that teacher "knows all", and the children have very little to offer other than their attention and their attendance.

1.14. ELECTIVE GENERATIVITY, CHARITY AND BENEVOLENCE (from Women on Words & Images, 1972)

The key term here is "elective" as it implies that one has the power to "elect" to express helpful behavior, as compared to "routine helpfulness" which has the overtones of "good servant". For example, when a man is pictured washing dishes (which does not happen in the readers studied) it is singled out as an event in a way that would not be thought of if a woman were pictured in the same role. Similarly, when a rich man offers to pay for a poor boy's education, it is a mark of benevolence or charity, rather than a routine activity (refer to the story of The Duke and The Cowboy in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's). Thus, when the rich nobleman or duke is generous, it is partly because he has the power to elect to dispense privilege as he can afford such overtures. So, when those in high status position elect to give something to someone who is lower in status or less fortunate, it is thrown up as a score on the morality scale, as an act of kindness, or a virtuous deed. Usually, these acts of benevolence were rewards for some poor fellow's honesty or integrity; which again implied that the poor had demonstrated morals that they could hardly afford. Besides, honesty is a vital lesson to preach to those who have very little real power or wealth, because dishonesty could ruin the system for those in power who need their workers to continue to labor for low wages and to comply with the rules of those who have more favored positions.

RESULTS: WAM 11; WCM 5; OAM 8; OCM 1; AnM 1; OAF 2; OCF 1.
Male :Female 26:4 Approx. 6.5:1
White:Other 17:12 " 4:3
Adult:Child 22:7 " 3:1

Within readers, this category is ranked fifth in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), but is low in rank in all other series. Thus, it would seems that benevolence was more valued in the Victorian scheme of things. The rich person was somehow seen as righteous when a copper or two was placed in the hands of an orphan or a poverty ridden widow (whose husband had probably met his fate in one or another battle fought for king and country). Benevolence,then, is based on the acceptance of unequal status assignment, and the unequal distribution of wealth and power, hence the upper classes could afford to be charitable, whereas the lower classes did not have the privilege to give to others.

Between readers, the ranking of themas on this subcategory according to the frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
2	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
3	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
4	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)

In (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), a cowboy, not recognizing a duke as "a duke", asked for assistance with an ill-tempered cow. (The implication being, that had he known who the fellow "really" was, it would not have been appropriate to call on him to help with the animal).

(Refer to Illustration No.7, Appendix A, p.328)

> 'Come here,man, and help me, and I'll give you half of whatever I get'

(The Duke complies with the request and is "good humored " enough to participate as an "equal" to this poor cowboy, which must have been a fascinating little experiment for a man of his class and fortune)

> 'And now,' said the Duke ...'How much do you think you will get for the job?'
> 'I don't know,' said the boy; 'but I am sure of something, for the folk up at the big house are good to everybody...'

The upshot of the story is that the butler is crooked and actually short-changes the boy, giving him a shilling instead of a sovereign. This foul play was soon to be found out with the Duke sharing in the profit. (Emphasis added)

> The butler fell on his knees, confessed his fault, and begged to be forgiven; but the duke ordered him to give the boy the sovereign, and quit his service at once. 'You have lost', said the duke, 'both your place and your character by your deceit. Learn for the future that honesty is the best policy.'
>
> The boy now found out who it was that had helped him to drive the cow; and the duke was so pleased with the manliness and honesty of the boy, the he sent him to school, and paid for him out of his own pocket.'

In (10 Nelson's New West Indian Reader (1971), Uncle Rimer is very generous to his nephews and their friends;he tells Tim and David that he intends to take them to the circus and before the boys even have to ask, he inserts:

> 'Yes David, you may invite some of your friends'
> ... he just knew what David was going to ask
> ... David laughed. Uncle Rimer was so kind!'

So Uncle Rimer pays for the boys and their friends to attend the circus, and the children are seen to be suitably polite and very grateful. (Children are not usually able to afford such luxuries as tickets and transport to the circus and have to rely on adults to be kind or generous; the status of "child" is one of powerlessness in all societies.)

1.15. FRIENDSHIP, AFFILIATION. (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women On Words & Images, 1972)

This subcategory included manifestations of friendship and good will, plus the desire to do things with others. According to Child, Potter & Levine (1946) it is often demonstrated through respect, deference, sympathy, generosity, and helpfulness. In most instances the expression of friendship is one of simple proximity or the desire for close proximity.

In the study by Women on Words and Images (1972), real friends, as defined in the readers, were same sexed groupings. In this, as in most subcategories of Active Mastery, the quality of friendship was somehow better for boys. When girls and boys were together, boys were considered to be demeaned by association with girls, especially in the pre-teen years. The sex segregation policy of this age grouping was actually reinforced in the readers that were studied by Women On Words and Images (1972).

In the present study, there were some scenes where boys considered it beneath their station to play with girls. It seemed ludicrous, for example in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers,(1971) for boys to leave a game of marbles to attend a dolls' wedding, ...Well, until the reception when the food came out. However, the results do indicate a tendency for same sex affiliation.

RESULTS: WCM 10; OCM 4; AnM 1; MC 6; WCF 9; OCF 2.
Male :Female 15:12 or 5:4
White:Other 19:6 or 3:1
Adult:Child 0:36

Note: Adults are not shown as having friends in the readers studied. Women seem to be full-time housewives and mothers and thus segregated from other women because of this domestic confinement in the readers. We might assume that the buccaneers, soldiers, and warriors in Greek legends affiliated with one another, and that cricket players were also friends, but this was not brought out in thema analysis. Men were involved with activities that required them to co-operate one with another and to be in close proximity, but the same was not true of women in the story lines.

Within readers, this thema ranked number three in (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) and (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949).

Between Readers, the ranking of this thema in terms of its frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)
2	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
3	(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
4	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)

In (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) and (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949), brother and sister spend a lot of time together, but when they have "friends" to play with, a same-sexed companion is brought into the story line. Girls usually wash their dolls, or their dolls' clothes, have dolls' picnics or else skip, play hop-scotch or attend to their pets; while boys play with bat and ball, fly kites (often kites that they have made for themselves), play marbles, spin tops or do something active or "boyish"

Refer to the following examples:

Appendix	Male	Female	Mixed
H	156-7	136-8 140-1	139 160 168-9
I	171-4	177-82	175-6
J	200-02 214-15	203-04	205

1.16. SELF RESPECT, AUTONOMY, ASSERTIVENESS (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images, 1972)

In this subcategory were placed those behaviors that are directed towards independence, or freedom, self respect and a certain rejection of constraint via a mode of self reliance. Child, Potter & Levine (1946) indicate three types of autonomous behavior, according to the extent that this behavior symbolizes resistance to the demands of someone in a position of authority: 1. Resistance to an expressed demand of authority; i.e., disobedience, 2. Disrespect or disregard of implicit authority, and 3. All behavior that is autonomous but does not contravene authority.

Children and young animals often exhibit autonomous behavior in the readers when they wander beyond the group of normal association, or go outside those boundaries set by parental supervision. Usually autonomous behavior is linked with the expression of personal courage, independent decision making and curiosity. In most cases the defiance of authority is punished, or not approved of: The chicken who wanders away, gets lost;

the piglets who leave home while their parents are out taking a walk, are chased by the wicked fox.

The third type of autonomy respresents self growth within legitimate channels or structures and is thus seldom punished or met with disapproval. This type of autonomy is linked with "growing up" and is socially rewarded.

Adult characters are not so much concerned with attaining independence, but rather the maintenance of that independence. In some instances the case rests on pride of place. In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) the fish vendor (refer to Illustration No.211, Appendix J, p. 392) who is barked at by a house dog and patronized by a middle class housewife asserts herself through politeness and kindness to both the house dog and the houswife, and demonstrating her skilfull use of a sharp knife in cutting fish. She takes control of the situation, but loses out, in that she sells her fish at a "cheap" rate and is generous in the face of her certain poverty.

Autonomous behavior then, is tied in with personhood. The study conducted by Women on Words and Images (1972) indicates a certain lack of autonomy in female characters, especially girls, and concludes that girls who are seen to be assertive are generally not approved of. In their study, those females that did exhibit a sense of autonomy were those in "Tomboy" stories, and thus self assertion was another sure sign that the character was "lacking" or "scoffing" her femininity (i.e., the "true" nature of females). In "Sissy" stories, girls are rarely assertive. It would seem that the school readers examined in this present study did not even bring a "Tomboy" into the story lines, and girls tended to be created to conform to the feminine mold.

RESULTS: WAM 10; WCM 6; OAM 3; OCM 2; AnM 4; WAF 4; WCF 2; OAF 5; OCF 1.
Male :Female 25:12 or 2:1
White:Other 22:11 or 2:1
Adult:Child 22:11 or 2:1

Within readers, the thema was not as popular as others, but it did rank fifth in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)

Between readers the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(10) Nelson's New west Indian Readers (1971)
2	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
4	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
5	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)

The results reveal the same pattern that has been emerging in most of the Active Mastery subcategories. White Adult Males outnumber all other character types.

An example of an assertive group of people is shown in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Reader (1971). The Maroons were a group of black slaves who escaped from bondage by hiding in the hills in Jamaica and establishing a community that had to be reckoned with by those in the legitimate power structure. The term "maroon" is derived from the Spanish word "dimarron", which means "wild" or "untamed" (and these were hardly the descriptors used to label the English "slaves" who escaped from bondage in Algiers by building a canvas boat and floating to Minorca in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader, 1890's)

> Some Maroons, under ... Juan de Bolas, turned ... against the Spaniards and helped the English to defeat them. As a reward, these Maroons were given land, and Juan de Bolas was made colonel of a black regiment to help in defence of the country.
>
> Many Maroons, however, did not agree with de Bolas for going over to the side of the English. They remained in the woods, happy in their new freedom..
>
> ... English settlers were worried, because, as the numbers of the aroons became greater, they became bolder and bolder, and made more frequent raids at night upon the plantations, stealing cattle and setting fire to the fields...
>
> ... English masters were now afraid to punish their slaves lest they should run away and further increase the already large numbers of Maroons...

The story line goes on to say that the English did send in their troops to destroy the Maroons, and indeed they slaughtered many. However, what is not stated explicitly is that the Maroons were too powerful and too competent to wipe out, but the story line indicates that they did compromise or sell out to the British: (Emphasis & parenthetical comments added)

> The Maroons were granted full freedom and liberty, and given fifteen hundred acres of land near the cockpit country. They also had the right to hunt anywhere in the forests, so long as they kept at least three miles away from any town or plantation.
>
> The Maroons, in return promised that they would not allow any more run away slaves to join them. Instead, they would return them to the nearest magistrate, and receive payment for doing so. They agreed to help the government in suppressing any revolt, and in resisting attacks by any enemy from outside.
>
> ... (and the story ends)...
>
> Today, their descendants still live a simple life, among the hills. They trouble no one, and no one troubles them. When night falls, so far as the Maroons are concerned, Jamaica sleeps in quiet and peace.

1.17. IMAGINALITY, DREAMING, FANTASY, CREATIVE PLAY (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images, 1972)

This subcategory included those behaviors that implied a sense of project, or use of the imagination. In this behavior there is a creative aspect, in that a person can use the vehicle of thought or play to reconstruct reality, or break with reality and its constraints, by entering the world of dreams or fantasy. One might hypothesize that girls, whose lives appear more confined, would use imaginality as an escape route to wider perspectives and adventures. However, the results show that it is the males in the readers who dream or project.

RESULTS: WCM 5; OCM 1; WCF 1; OCF 2.

Male :Female	6:3	or	2:1
White:Other	6:3	or	2:1
Adult:Child	0:9		

Note: This subcategory does not occur frequently in comparison to other thema loadings in the readers studied, although it appears to be more common in other studies; notably the Child, Potter & Levine Study (1946) and The Women on Words and Images Study (1972). However, this thema occurs twice in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

In (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) Peter dreamed that he saw characters from rhymes, such as the cow that jumped over the moon, an old man with a tall hat, who was seated on a star, trying to hit the hat with stones, so that he could get off that star, etc... Then Peter travels on a moon beam to a large garden, where he saw a queen "who looked like a beautiful doll", and he joined a very unusual party.

In the same series (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), Joy has a dream, where she goes to Disneyland and plays with flowers that take her to see the queen.

1.18. RECOGNITION, BOASTING (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946)

In this subcategory were inserted those themas indicating behavior aimed at or directed at social approval or acceptance, that was predominantly egotistical and crude. Murray (1938) cites three principal forms of recognition (in Child, Potter & Levine, 1946). 1. Recitals of superiority, 2. cathection of praise or experience of pleasure when praised or flattered, and 3. public performance or demonstration of skill or power.

In most instances, recognition behavior that is egotistical is not approved of in the readers. Modesty is more acceptable for males and cheerful, unconscious, self sacrificing humility for oppressed groups; other ethnic groups, and females.

RESULTS: WAM 4; WCM 2; OAM 1; AnM 5.

Male :Female	12:0
White:Other	6:1
Adult:Child	5:2

Themas in this category were none too numerous, occurring four times in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), three times in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (10) Nelson's New West Indian Reader (1971) and (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975). The results indicate that this category is exclusively male, and predominantly White Adult Male.

The story of Brer Rabbit and Brer Terrapin in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) serves to illustrate the idea:

By way of introduction, these stories of Brer Rabbit were composed by "Uncle Remus",

> an old slave, and the boy who listens to them so eagerly, is the son of the old man's mistress.

(Refer to Illustration No.64, Appendix D, p.345). Like Brer Annancy, Brer Rabbit tales tell of a very clever animal who usually triumphs over other animals, but not always, as this contest with Brer Terrapin shows. Brer Rabbit boasts of his speed, and so Brer Terrapin challenges Brer Rabbit to a race. In the story, Brer Terrapin is really four terrapins entering the course of the race at different points, and so Brer Rabbit appears to have been defeated and is thus disapproved of for his boasting. (Emphasis added)

> There really isn't any excuse for Brer Terrapin, He cheated. There's no doubt about it, and cheating is wrong; but he showed Brer Rabbit that it is foolish to boast and that was a good lesson for Brer Rabbit to learn - if he really did learn it.

1.19. SPORTSMANSHIP (from Women On Words & Images, 1972)

This subcategory is for participants in competitive sports. Children have races to see who is fastest, others excell in team games or sports such as cricket, football or racket sports. In the study done by Women On Words & Images (1972) instances of competitiveness in sports were more numerous than they were in this present study, and boys were the "winners". In their study, when girls won anything, more often than not, the victory resulted from some fluke or else, after boys had trained them with painstaking effort.

In this study, sportsmanship was a "males only" category, and the theme was not a popular one.

RESULTS: WCM 1; OAM 3; OCM 1.
Male :Female 5:0
White:Other 1:4
Adult:Child 3:2

There were four themas in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and one thema in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

1.20. AGGRESSION, HUMILIATING OTHERS (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women On Words & Images, 1972)

This subcategory included those behaviors that were too flagrant to be called dominance, or self assertion. Such behaviors as ridiculing others, being disobedient to an extreme point, being physically violent or psychologically violent to others. The factor that indicates aggression as an apt label is the extreme egocentrism of the behavior, the denial or total disrespect for the rights or feelings of others. The code of human rights is cast aside for a momentary victory of sorts.

The disrespect or humiliation of others is almost entirely male (as the protagonist).

RESULTS:	WAM	WCM	OAM	OCM	AnM	WAF	OAF	AnF
A:	9;	2;	4;	2;	8;	1;	0;	0.
D:	9;	2;	2;	1;	11;	0;	1;	1.
total:	18;	4;	6;	3;	19;	1;	1;	1

(A = Approval; D = Disapproval)

Male :Female 50:3 or 17:1
White:Other 23:11 or 2:1
Adult:Child 26:8 or 3:1

Within readers, the frequency of this thema ranked third in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), and fifth in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

Between Readers, the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series	
1	(3)	Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
2	(4)	Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
3	(10)	Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
4	(1)	Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)

The results indicate that aggression is predominantly male in the readers studied, and once again it is White Adult Males who score highest in this subcategory. Aggressive behavior is approved of some of the time, and disapproved of at other times. In animal stories, acts of aggression are tolerated and then shown to be wrong. In most cases, aggression towards others and the humiliation of others is met with varying reactions. When the victim is an elderly person, acts of aggression or humiliation are not approved of. When the victim is held up as a wrong-doer or just stupid or impolite the agent of justice is not seen as doing anything wrong, but rather defending a code of values that suggest that the victim should be given a stern lesson.

This excerpt from (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) is an illustration of humiliation or covert aggression by some young boys towards an elderly victim : (Emphasis added)

> The wind was blowing very hard as two boys on their way to school met an old man who could hardly walk.
> Just as they passed him, the wind blew the old man's hat off. It was carried quickly up the street; but the old man was not able to run after it.
> 'Stop, my boys, please, and pick up my hat,' cried the old man, ' or I am afraid I shall not be able to do it.'
> But the boys stood still, and only laughed. They thought it was fine to see that hat carried away.

Further on in the story, a "good little girl" retrieves the hat for the old man, without even having to be asked to do the same. The teacher witnesses all this from the window, and rewards the little girl for her kindness. The two boys who were laughing at the old man felt ashamed of themselves, and so they experience internal punishment by disapproving of their own behavior.

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Reader (1971), there is a story called Trouble Made the Monkey Eat Pepper: A Creole Folk Tale, where a monkey on hearing an old woman vendor, who had spilt a gubby or gourd of molasses, wail "See what trouble has overtaken me", intelligently but wrongly concluded that the name of this sweet substance was "trouble". The monkey apparently liked the molasses and set out to buy some. On reaching town, the monkey inquires of some people where he might purchase some "trouble". (Refer to Illustration No.223, Appendix J, p. 396)

(Emphasis added)

> At first they were surprised, but they soon determined to play a trick on him, so they directed him to a man who kept fierce dogs. In the meantime, they sent the man a message that the monkey wanted some trouble, and asked if he could oblige the animal.
> The man saw the joke, took the monkey's bags into his yard, tied up a fierce bull dog pup in each, and handed them back to the monkey with the remark that he would back that trouble against any in the market.

Of course, when the monkey opens the bags he is rushed by two fierce dogs, and still further, the only tree in sight for him to climb is the thorny gru gru palm complete with a Jack Spaniard's nest.

> These angry insects quickly taught him what trouble really was.
> After waiting at the foot of the tree for a whole day, hunger compelled the pups to go home. The monkey then dropped down out of the tree, and famished, bruised, and blinded by the stings of the wasps, he wobbled on his way.
> The first eatable thing he saw was a pepper tree, and so great was his hunger that he devoured every pepper.

Now, wasn't that a "funny joke" or "trick" to play on the monkey in order to teach the animal the meaning of the word "trouble".

In a scene from The Destruction of Port Royal in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)where a group of buccaneers are seated around tables drinking and gambling, we hear boasts of blatant aggression: (refer to Illustation Nos.85-6, Appendix D, p. 348)

> Sam: Aye, the sack of Panama was a great time. We were weeks and weeks collecting the loot. Aye, Morgan was a brave rascal.
> Smiling Simon: But what of Pierre the Great.
> Black Pete: Aye, Pierre who took a Spanish galleon with only a boat load of men and sailed her home to France laden with treasure.
> Sam: Or Bartholomew, the Portuguese, who went off in a small boat from Jamaica with thirty men!
> Capt. Davis: And four small guns. But he seized a great ship with twenty big guns and sixty-two men!
> Smiling Simon: He couldn't kill men like Rock Braziliano!
> Black Pete: A devil alive was Rock ... Often have I seen Rock when in drink run up and down these streets of Port Royal beating or wounding everybody he met.
> Capt. Davis: And down at Golfo Triste, he with thirty men put to fight more than a hundred Spaniards ...

Just then, the earth shakes and Port Royal is hit by an earthquake which destroys the city. The temporal arrangement of this conversation and the earthquake could indicate a certain punishment for the foul deeds mentioned by the buccaneers, and indeed further on in the story one of the women running for safety mentions that the earthquake was punishment by a supernatural power. This kind of logic is rather crude but it is the kind that is used frequently to explain natural disasters.

Stories of Don Quixote, in stories from old Spain in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and also in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)(refer to Illustration No. 77, Appendix D, p.347 , and Illustration No.108, Appendix F, p.355) are an odd mixture of charity, chivalry and senseless aggression. Don Quixote is given to hallucinations and rides off in the name of righteousness. In one story, he slaughters four and injures numerous dumb sheep, thinking that he is doing "good" and killing "pagans" (i.e., people). Sancho, Don Quixote's trusty servant is forever trying to prevent Don Quixote from riding off to attack such things as sheep and windmills, but Don Quixote is not to be reasoned with as it does not appear to be reality that is being dealt with here.

(Emphasis added)

> 'It does concern us Sancho. Do you remember that Alifanfaron is a *pagan*, and should not be allowed to marry the *lovely* *daughter* of *Christian* Pentapolin?'

Don Quixote's aggression appears to be justified if it is for a "good" cause, and defending the property of a Christian man against a pagan man is a righteous cause in this scheme of things.

1.21. HARMAVOIDANCE (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946)

Harmavoidance refers to those efforts made to avoid possible or explicit sources of danger. The consequence or reward is usually the successful attempt, the escape from danger. The most frequently occurring scene is the threat to physical safety or comfort. As males are more mobile and adventurous, it is not surprising to find that they encounter more threats to their safety, and thus, are forced more often to act quickly and rationally to escape from danger or potential danger.

RESULTS: WAM 5; WCM 3; OCM 1; AnM 7; OCF 1.

Male :Female	16:1		
White:Other	8:2	or	4:1
Adult:Child	5:5	or	1:1

Between readers, the ranking of themas in this subcategory according to frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
2	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
3	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)

In (3) Nelson's West Indian Reader (1925) the story of Robinson Crusoe indicates that this resourceful person takes many steps to ensure personal safety. He erects a high fence around his cave to protect himself from threats and he is equipped with firearms as extra safeguard against any danger.

In (10) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) there is a negative appraisal of two males who act rationally to avoid danger. One man scales a tree when a bear approaches, leaving his more heavily built friend to feign "dead", and a boy runs for the nearest fence when a dun cow gives chase to him and his sister. The boy acts from self interest and leaves his sister to do the same, but she gets her pretty lace dress caught on a branch in the process and has to tear herself away or meet the angry animal face to face. In both of these instances, the protagonists were in the middle of saying that they would stick with a friend in any event of danger. However, when danger is immediate, these people act to preserve themselves and leave their friends to do the best that they can It is the boasting of good intentions that is mocked in these stories.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS ON ACTIVE MASTERY THEMAS

In the readers studied it was found that some character types consistently dominate or control the action in the story lines, while "other" character types, females and members of other ethnic groups, are consistently absent or poorly represented.

Tables VI and VII (Percentage and Ratio Figures by Major Theme and Reading Series) show that White Males dominate in Active Mastery themas in terms of frequency in all the reading series studied, except in those series where males from Other ethnic groups are more numerous (i.e., in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).)

The results presented in Table IX (Active Mastery Themas by Character Type) also show that White Adult Males are most frequently represented in Active Mastery roles.

The culture represented in the readers reflects the structure of dominance in Western culture. Stereotyped or colonized images of race and sex in curriculum materials is a form of cultural imperialism.

2. Second Citizen Themes: An Overview

Second citizen themes complement the Active Mastery themes rather than being negatively counterposed. Thus, while some people are independent, assertive, creative, intelligent and generally in control of themselves and their world, others are there watching, serving, being helped or rescued, and generally deferring to the more active characters. Second Citizens are there, but they are not in control, they do not direct the course of action, but are incorporated into the general scheme of things. People who have these traits are in the main passive, docile, fearful and dependent on others, they rarely conceive of the possibility of taking control of their own lives, as others have already assumed control. Their personalities reinforce the unequal arrangement, in that they are always "happy" with the little they have, they defer to others constantly, they are helpless in the face of danger or any other challenge - they cannot see themselves becoming responsible for their own lives, or taking the leading or dominant role in any situation. They are denied the dignity of solving their own problems. Simone de Beauvior (1957) described woman as Second Class Citizen. Woman is the "Other", in that she is the supporting, invisible actor who is not defined in the same way as men are defined. As "other", the goals are shaped for the individual rather than being a creative enterprise that emerges as one confronts the world in the way that Active Masters do. The importance of the "other" appears to be less valued than the mainstream roles in that "others" seem diminished in form, their lives are not so vibrant, nor so vital.

Second Class Citizens are marginal characters. For example, females are excluded from the more notable dramas, and only come to the fore as victims of circumstance and all too frequently they are seen as dependent and in need of assistance. Women on Words & Images (1972) suggested that the picture presented in the readers that they studied is one where females turn away from the frightening, punishing outside world, preferring the security of the familiar world of the home. For little girls there is the more subtle theme of self-abnegation. The image of the ideal woman appears to be one of total selflessness and the role of nurturing others. She is defined by her goodness and shares many of the qualities that are assigned to Third World people such as, dependency, docility, passivity, silence and service to others.

Second Class Citizens have been "colonized" to accept the position of "Other" in that they have been alienated from the dynamic sector of society and have become what Paulo Friere termed a "culture of silence" in Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970). The Second Class Citizen is the dominated person who has integrated the discourse of the dominant group into his or her silence and passiveness, according to such writers as Fanon (1952, 1963) and Memmi (1965, 1968). The dominated or colonized person accepts the definition of self that is imposed by the more powerful group and shares the concept of self and reality that actually renders second class status to the group of one's own membership. This is the essence of alienation and colonization, as the colonized person makes himself or herself a victim by sharing in the concepts determined by the dominant group and speaking the language that reflects the values of that group. This is a subtle and extraordinarily pervasive process as the concepts in language are not created by each individual in the process of learning the language as the meanings appear to be "given" and incorporating those meanings is part of becoming "civilized" and also part of acquiring membership or learning to belong in a culture. For the Second Class Citizen to accept the inferior status assigned, it is important that he or she interpret the concepts of the dominant group as "universal" and accept the egalitarianism of integration and assimilation.

When the Second Class Citizen becomes aware of the definition of self as "Other" in the arrangement of values the struggle of decolonizing is not a simple project as the structures of the culture already exist and the roles assigned to individuals are linked to these structures. Structural arrangements give birth to patterns of interaction and the ideological representations that reinforce that arrangement. The crux of second class citizenship is cultural and the pseudo-universality of the dominant values in society.

In the readers, women are pictured as belonging in the private or domestic sphere. Fortunately for the "happy housewives" in the pages of children's readers, they are predominantly middle class, their marriages are stable, their children, docile (and usually there are only two, a boy and a girl) and there is often a pet dog or cat to complete the picture. The nuclear family is held up as the image of "family", and the young female adult is the image of "good mother", "house keeper" and "wife". She is usually pretty but extremely modest and dresses in simple but prim attire. It is rare to see a mother or housewife doing her domestic chores in jeans and running shoes, or engaged in activities for her own self growth or expression. In the readers, women are pictured as the angels of the households.

A double standard exists in Western society that systematically differentiates between individuals according to biological traits. This not to say that the biological givens are the root of the apparent differences, but that these traits are highly visible and discrimination along biological lines is facilitated by the ready recognition of differences. These apparent differences are adopted into cultural myths in the form of stereotypes and caricatures which relegate "Others" to a marginal position in society. Thus, colonization is not only structural or physical but symbolic and social. Racism and Sexism are forms of symbolic colonization that serve to maintain social order. Second Class Citizenship is ascribed rather than achieved, and the process of stereotyping functions to distort the perceptions of "Others" such that it would seem that their lower status appears to be achieved as these individuals are categorized as "inferior" and naturally unsuited to higher status positions.

The list of Second Citizen Themes is given in Table X.

Table VI: Percentage Figures for Character Types by Major Themes and Reading Series indicates that women and other ethnic groups are over-respresented in Second Class Citizen themes.

Table VII: Ratios for Character Type by Major Theme and Reading Series, indicates that the male to female ratio for all the reading series is approximately 1:4.5. The white to Other ratio for readers, (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1949), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers, where the population is intended to reflect the West Indian population, is approximately 1:26 (compared to 1:5 for Active Mastery themas in the same readers).

TABLE X.
SECOND SEX / CITIZEN THEMES

2.1. Nurturance, Altruism, Kindness, Womanly Virtues, Routine Helpfulness, Domesticity.

2.2. Physical Appearance, Beauty
vs. Ugliness, Physical Handicaps.

2.3. Passivity, Docility, Dependency.

2.4. Deference, Politeness, Subservience
vs. Impoliteness, Rudeness, Disobedience.

2.5. Incompetence, Mishaps, Impracticality, Carelessness, Naivity Innocence, Stupidity.

2.6. Order, Neatness, Tidiness, Punctuality, Cleanliness.

2.7. Sentience, Aesthetic, Artistic, Sensuous.

2.8. Victimization, Humiliation, Rejection.

2.9. Expressing Emotions, Fear, Cowardice.

2.10. Impatience, Impulsivity, Irrational Behavior.

2.11. Intuitive, Sensitive to Others.

2.12. Succorance, Helplessness.

2.13. Pious, Expressing Religious Faith or Convictions
(C̲hristian; H̲indu; M̲oslim.)

2.14. Self Sacrificing, Selflessness, Forgiving.

2.15. Loneliness, Isolation.

2.16. Shopping.

2.17. False Identity Assumption.

Second Citizen Themes

Second Citizen Themes were divided into seventeen subcategories (listed by number in Table X) into which themas were assigned on the basis of appropriateness to the definitions of the individual subcategories. In Table X, the first digit, number 2, signifies the major theme of second citizen, and the second digit, numbers 1 to 17, signifies the individual subcategories. Each thema or unit of behavior was broadly classified as fitting the definition of Active Mastery or Second Citizen and then located in a subcategory of the major theme. Each subcategory of Second Citizen will be defined and elaborated on in the course of listing the results and discussing the results. Examples and excerpts from the readers will be used to illustrate the idea or character of each subcategory.

Table XI : Second Citizen Themas by Character Type, lists the number of times that main characters in a thema unit were assigned to subcategories of Second Citizen. For example when an Other Adult Female (OAF) deferred to another Other Adult Female, a score of one was listed under 2.4. Deference and under OAF for Other Adult Female.

The results presented in Table XI, indicate that females were more frequently assigned Second Citizen roles in the reading series studied. The overall ratio of males to females was approximately 1:2. The overall ratio of White to Other was approximately 4:3. The ratios of White to Other and male to female indicates the high proportion of "others" in Second Citizen themas, especially when one takes into account the fact that these groups are fewer in numbers and in some readers, the populations are "all white".

TABLE XI

SECOND CITIZEN THEMAS BY CHARACTER TYPE

	WAM	WCM	OAM	OCM	ANM	WAF	WCF	OAF	OCF	ANF
1)	5	2	6	5	1	30	10	34	9	9
2)	-	-	-	1	1	13	7	4	2	1
3)	1	1	2	1	-	13	5	1	5	-
4)	8	5	6	7	7	11	4	2	4	3
5)	1	3	-	2	3	3	3	5	6	1
6)	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	-
7)	1	-	1	5	1	-	3	2	4	2
8)	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
9)	1	-	-	-	3	4	3	3	2	-
10)	7	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
11)	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
12)	1	1	-	-	2	5	3	1	-	-
13)	4	1	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
14)	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	1
15)	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
16)	-	2	-	-	-	2	2	5	-	-
17)	-	-	-	-	5	3	-	-	-	-
	34	18	18	23	27	94	45	63	34	17

RATIOS

3 : 2 : 2 : 2 : 3 : 9 : 5 : 6 : 3 : 2

Method of Recording Results.

There are three categories of data recorded for each subcategory of Second Citizen themas, as in the case of results recorded for Active Mastery themas:

1. Frequency counts by character type for each subcategory (see Table XI). These were listed in tabular form under "results".

2. The ranking of frequencies within reading series (when the rank was between one and five). The number of Second Citizen themas was often too low to record within series figures. Those subcategories that were included were: 2.1. Nurturance, 2.2. Physical Appearance, 2.3. Passivity and 2.4. Deference.

3. The ranking of frequencies between reading series. Those that were omitted were: 2.2. Physical Appearance, 2.8. Victimization, 2.11. Intuitive, 2.13. Religious Faith, 2.15. Loneliness, and 2.17. Assuming a False Identity.

2.1. NURTURANCE, ALTRUISM (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women On Words & Images, 1972)

Nurturance and altruistic behaviors are those directed at assisting or caring for others. There is usually a quality of putting the needs of others before the needs of self. Child, Potter and Levine (1946) outline three aspects of nurturance: 1. spontaneous nurturance, 2. requested nurturance, and 3. necessitated nurturance. In their study, the most frequently occurring form of nurturance was the spontaneous variety. In the present study nurturance and altruistic behaviors were not modified into categories.

Nurturant behavior is almost always approved of, and the rewards are predominantly internal or implicit, i.e., doing good or caring for others is implicitly rewarding. However, gifts and rewards for selflessness are unusually frequent in the readers, especially in fairytales. Good, beautiful, altuistic females are seen to sprout diamonds and marry princes, which has been referred to by feminist writers as the "cinderella type theme" as such consequences are rare in real life dramas, particularly those of lower class females. For the most part, women in "reader culture" (i.e., that culture represented in the readers) are framed in domestic scenes, putting bandaids on little boys' knees, baking cakes, preparing suppers and generally caring for the family.

RESULTS: WAM 5; WCM 2; OAM 6; OCM 5; AnM1; WAF 30; WCF 10; OAF 34; OCF 9; AnF 9.
Male :Female 19:92 or 1:4.5
White:Other 47:54
Adult:Child 75:26 or 3:1

Note: When consideration is given to the fact that there are at least two times as many males as there are females in the "reader culture", and that the number of Adult Females is even smaller (WAM:WAF 5:2; and OAM:OAF 7:1), the loading of females in this category is truly significant. After reading children's readers, one might be left with the impression that being female is synonymous with being nurturant.

Within readers, themas in this subcategory ranked number one in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900 +) and (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970); number two in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949), (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971); number four in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960); and number eight in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and (3) Nelson's West Indian Reader (1925).

Between Readers, the ranking of themas in this subcategory in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
2	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)
3	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
4	(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)
5	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)

2.2. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE: BEAUTY+, UGLINESS- (from Women On Words & Images, 1972)

Being attractive or beautiful appears to be very important to the Second Citizen in the readers. These features are further enhanced by being young or youthful. Western society has traditionally defined beauty along Anglo Saxon lines; i.e., long straight hair, usually blonde, fair or pale complexion, modest proportions, often a tiny waist-line, small feet and innocent feline eyes.

Males rarely bother with their appearance in readers, they often dress in casual, even sloppy clothes, and get themselves a little soiled in the rough and tumble of their play. Girls, in contrast, are forever in neat dresses, even when they are at play. They worry about neatness, cleanliness and being attractive.

It is rare that we find an ugly princess in the culture of children's literature, but we do have one in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960). This princess poses a tremendous problem for the king, who cannot persuade anyone to marry her (refer to Illustration Nos.119-20, Appendix F, p. 358). Eventually a blind fiddler volunteers to marry the princess, who has reasoned that the real problem resides in the fact that she is ugly and thus she should enter a nunnery or go to live in the poles where it is always night and thus, nobody would have to look on her.

The crux of the issue here is that marriage is right and proper and thus, not to marry is somehow incredible or truly tragic for a princess; a negation of her "true" identity. This story is an exception to the rule, i.e., that princesses are always beautiful.

Whether princesses are also witty and intelligent is rarely stated. However, Women on Words and Images (1972) assume, that, given that beauty notoriously fades, then princesses must have these other necessary attributes as they always live happily ever after in the story lines. Princes are also said to be "handsome", but this is seldom their only claim to fame, they hunt, have duels, and most importantly, they have fame and fortune to help them in their wedded bliss.

The illustrations also cut women short. They are always shorter than the males, even in early childhood years when girls usually have the edge. This small "problem" is often overcome by having an offspring pattern where males are the first born and therefore older and more mature than their younger sisters.

RESULTS: AnM 1; WAF 13; WCF 7; OAF 4; OCF 2; AnF 1. (OCM 1)
Male :Female 2:27
White:Other 20:6
Adult:Child 17:9

This thema occurs fives times in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971); and four times in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925).

Note: In the Other Adult Female category, two of the four instances of physical appearance were in the ugly category and in both instances, this ugliness was not approved of and coincided with advanced years or old age.

When animal males cared about physical appearance, they were cast as being vain. In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), the very first story that our chilren encounter is about Why The Billy-Goat Has A Beard. Mr. Billy-Goat, Mrs. Billy-Goat and Little Billy-Goat are standing by the river:

> The river was like a looking-glass. Mr. Billy-Goat could see himself in it (and he could also see the other two members of the family)
>
> Now, Mr. Billy-Goat was very vain, and he liked what he saw.

This goat thought that he looked as young as Mrs. Billy-Goat and Little Billy-Goat. Then "a voice" enters the scene to remind Mr. Billy-Goat that he is too vain. And, for his vanity he is "punished" by the appearance of a white beard on his chin.

> They (Mrs. Billy-Goat and Little Billy-Goat) knew that Mr. Billy-Goat had learned his lesson. He would not be vain again.
>
> But since that time, every big Billy-Goat has had a long beard on his chin.

A Creole folk tale appears in the Nelson readers ((3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)), where a tortoise or morocoy wants to attend a "bird" party, and is eventually punished because he is not a bird. In (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1971), the morocoy is posed as a relative of the bird family because morocoys, like birds, lay eggs. Some sympathetic birds give the morocoy a feather each so that he can fly to the location of the party. However, the morocoy was not as refined as the birds, and this is what happened: (Emphasis added)

> Miss Peahen, who was dressed in fine robes, just like the ones now worn only by Mr. Peacock, was asked to sing for the company, and she did so. Now Mr. Morocoy, like the *foolish* fellow he was, said that her dress was lovely, but her voice was awful.
>
> Everyone knows that the voice of a peacock is not very sweet, but if the morocoy had been *thoughtful* he would have known that it is not always *wise* to say what one thinks.
>
> Miss Peahen was the favorite of all the *young men-birds*, and when they heard this remark they became angry.

The party is over for Mr. Morocoy when the birds retrieve their feathers and leave him at the top of a cliff. The morocoy's beautiful back is cracked when the kind *Mrs*. Spider tries to spin a web to allow the morocoy to return to the flat land below, but the web is not strong enough and hence, the morocoy falls some distance to the ground. The moral of the tale is summed up thus: (Emphasis added)

> He is a warning to other people not to be *too free* with their tongues when speaking of their *betters*.

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), the story is modified. Martin the morocoy is vain, silly, narcissistic, proud of his shell, and although he is the finest creature in the land (his own opinion) he would like feathers as well. He chose to mix mainly with birds, and thought that they accepted him on equal terms, until he was not invited to the birds' party.

Martin is given feathers to fly to the party, and there the birds are *too polite* to say anything about this *odd creature*. Martin did not *peck at* his food like birds do, and he made *impolite* noises, and the birds thought him *greedy*, *rude* and *ungrateful*.

So he is punished, i.e., stripped of his feathers, and pushed off the top of a mountain, and to this day he still wears the *cracked back*. One wonders who "the birds" are and who "Martin the Morocoy" represents in this tale, or is it just a little "animal story" about a vain morocoy?

This poem in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) about an Afican king who refused to marry is a reminder of the importance of being beautiful and white for the female person, as these appear to be the tickets to upward social mobility. (Emphasis added)

The Beggar Maid

Her arms across her breast she laid;
    She was more *fair* than words can say:
Barefooted came the beggar maid
    Before the king Cophetua.
In robe and crown the king stept down,
    To meet and greet her on the way:
"It is no wonder," said the lords;
    "She is more *beautiful* than the day."
As shines the moon in clouded skies,
    She in her poor attire was seen;
One praised her ankles, *one her eyes*,
    One her dark hair and lovesome mien.
So sweet a face, such angel grace,
    In all that land had never been:
Cophetua sware a royal oath:
    "This beggar maid shall be my queen!"

Tennyson.

2.3. PASSIVITY, DOCILITY, DEPENDENCY (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women On Words & Images, 1972)

Passivity, docility and dependency are defined as opposite to activity and independence. Women on Words & Images (1972) indicated that it is usually a quality of the females of the species to exhibit the soft, delicate, sedentary profile in the readers that they studied.

> Mothers move through these pages like ectoplasm. Little girls endlessly play with dolls, give tea parties, look on helplessly or passively or admiringly while boys take action.

It would appear from the study that girls by and large, are spectators of life; the complement of the action; the chorus line.

In many instances, girls are shown depending on males in situations that they could indeed handle alone. In a particular instant in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), one finds an older girl, caught between the tides while she and her sister are collecting shells. They are so preoccupied with collecting shells that they do not notice the advancing water. A younger boy comes to the rescue, and the illustration shows the boy with his pants rolled up, and his feet bare, carrying the younger sister, while the older girl keeps to his side. Both girls are in stockings and shoes, and are hardly dressed for the seaside (Refer to Illustration No.14, Appendix B, p. 331) In Trinidad, a person dressed in hat, stockings, gloves and carrying a purse, would be laughed at, and might also suffer from heat exhaustion.

RESULTS: WAM 1; WCM 1; OAM 2; OCM 1; MC 4; WAF 13; WCF 5; OAF 1; OCF 5.
Male :Female 5:25 or 1:5
White:Other 20:9 or 2:1
Adult:Child 17:12 or 6:4

Between readers the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
3	(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
4	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)

The story of Cinderella in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), shows her attending a pot and looking so forlorn with her feet among the cinders (Refer to Illustration No.20, Appendix B, p.332) Her only saving grace is that: (Emphasis added)

> in spite of her dirty look and shabby clothes, she was a hundred times prettier than her sisters, though they dressed in the finest silks.

She plants a tree on her mother's grave, and waters it with her tears. The other saving grace that Cinderella was dependent on, was the magic powers of her fairy godmother.

In the story of Rumple-Stilts-Kin in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) and (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), we find the beautiful, clever daughter of a poor miller who becomes the victim of her father's boasting, that she could spin gold from straw.

> Now this king was very fond of money; and when he heard the miller's words he sent for the girl ... he led her to a room where there was a lot of straw, gave her a spinning wheel, and said 'All this must be spun into gold before morning, or you will lose your life.'
>
> It was of no use for the poor girl to say that she could do no such thing; the door was locked, and she was left alone.
>
> She sat down in the corner of the room and began to cry...

Just when the girl had given up hope and reacted to this situation in a way that is best described as "feminine", the bearer of magic powers enters the story line in the form of Rumple-Stilts-Kin. This little man offers to spin the straw into gold for a small fee, i.e., all that the girl possesses plus the promise of her first-born child. So the little man goes to work spinning straw into gold, and the king keeps on bringing straw and threatening violent action if it is not spun into gold. The miller's daughter is victim indeed, as she is thrown into the situation by her father's boasting, then she is threatened by the king, and lastly, she is at the mercy of this little magic man.

When the king is satisfied with the gold that has been spun, he rewards the girl by marrying her and making her queen. There is never a mention of any decision-making on her part, she is passive throughout, that is, until she becomes a mother and has to defend her new born son from Rumple-Stilts-Kin. It seems that women are passive in most situations but when it comes to protecting their children, a transformation occurs. The idea of a "maternal instinct" is very strong in children's readers. This queen is transformed from passive victim to a very clever, manipulative, intelligent, aggressive woman who has to outwit the magic man-elf, and is shown to succeed, and even mock the person who spun the straw into gold.

2.4. DEFERENCE$^+$, POLITENESS$^+$ VS. DISOBEDIENCE$^-$, IMPOLITENESS$^-$
(from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946)

Deference or politeness to other people is a mark of status imbalance. Second Citizens are often seen to defer to their "betters", especially in the earlier readers. Child, Potter & Levine (1946) outlined five major forms of this behavior: 1. compliance with requests or demands, 2. politeness, 3. subservience, 4. respect for authority and 5. imitation. All of these forms tend to overlap as those who have to be deferent, or who use deference to avoid conflict and promote harmony for themselves, are the colonized individuals in society, who imitate the colonizers to elevate their standing in a society that is dictated by the standards of the dominant group. The characteristics that line up with deference are meekness and docility, plus the implicit acceptance of a subordinate position. For example, children are expected to defer to adults, members of lower status groups are expected to defer to those in higher status brackets, females defer to males, and Third World people defer to Western dominance at the micro-level of everyday social interaction. It is this continued submission to the manners of the dominant group that maintains the authority and respect for that authority together with the acceptance of one's lower status or social evaluation. The notion of deference and politeness is compounded by class structure and the combination of factors that sum to power or status.

RESULTS: WAM 8; WCM 5; OAM 6; OCM 7; AnM 7; WAF 11; WCF 4; OAF 2; OCF 4; AnF 3.
Male :Female 33:24 or 11:8
White:Other 28:19 or 3:2
Adult:Child 27:23 or 9:8

Between readers the ranking of themas in terms of frequency of occurrence is as follows:

Rank	Reading Series	
1	(4)	Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
2	(6)	Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
	(10)	Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
4	(1)	Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
5	(3)	Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)

In the story of Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), (refer to Illustration No.25, Appendix C, p.333) we have an example of racism mixed with deference: indeed racism and deference are usually linked. The cunning Brer Fox, being the brilliant psychologist that he was, sets a trap for Brer Rabbit that the rabbit is certain to be drawn into. Brer Fox makes a tar baby and sets it up in the path of Brer Rabbit: (Emphasis added)

> 'Good morning', said Brer Rabbit to the Tar baby,
> 'A nice fine morning this is.'
> But the Tar baby said nothing at all.
> 'Are you deaf?' said Brer Rabbit, 'because if you are
> I can shout louder.' ...
> 'You are proud, that's what you are.' said Brer Rabbit.
> 'I' m going to teach you manners.'
> Then he drew back his paw and struck the Tar baby on
> the head ...
> Next Brer Rabbit struck him with his left-paw
> ... then with his hind-paws in turn; and they were
> stuck like the others.

Then of course, Brer Fox comes in and Brer Rabbit has to use his wit and cunning to get out of this predicament. The Tar Baby is also told in (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975), but the symbols are a little stronger, "Brer Fox" is "Mr. Fox", and "Brer Rabbit" becomes "White Tail". (Refer to Illustration No.196, Appendix I, p. 385). The whole trick or tale is based on the fact that Brer Rabbit or White Tail will insist on the politeness of deference of a black boy, which the Tar baby represents.

In (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), we have another story where politeness or deference is the theme, How the Crab got that Crack in its Back: A Creole Folk Tale. Here is the story: (Emphasis added)

> Once upon a time there were just two crabs in the world. One of them went down to the river one day to bathe, and there she saw a very old (black) woman sitting on a log of wood.
>
> 'Scratch my back', said the old woman. Now she was not very pleasant to look at, and she did not say 'please', but the crab was kind hearted and did what the old lady asked.
>
> 'You are a good, kind girl,and I will do something for you now.' So she sprinkled a few drops of water upon her, and the crab became a beautiful bird with gay feathers. ... (which implies that being a bird is much better than being a crab) ...

When the sister goes down to the river and is asked to perform such an unusual request, she refuses to co-operate or defer to the old woman, and this is what happens: (Parenthetical comments & emphasis added)

> this rudeness (i.e., lack of compliance) made the old woman angry, so she raised her stick and gave the crab such a whack on her back that it cracked the shell.
>
> The marks of the crack (i.e., deformity) remained on her children and are on all other crabs to this day. When you see then, remember that kindness and politeness pay best in the end.

The same theme is pertinent in the tale of the Morocoy in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) where the morocoy is said to have been impolite or rude at the bird party.

These Creole folk tales are very insistent on the idea that deference and politeness are of tremendous importance, and also appear to legitimate violence or aggression when such stategies are used to punish this rudeness and impoliteness. There is no criticism of the fact that the fairy or the birds are extremely cruel, self righteous, domineering, and hideously aggressive, or sadistically authoritarian in executing their certain punishment.

2.5. INCOMPETENCE, MISHAPS, STUPIDITY (from Women on Words & Images, 1972)

According to Women on Words & Images (1972), both boys and girls have mishaps at a roughly equal rate, however, in the case of girls these mishaps result from incompetence or stupidity, while the mishaps of boys are thrown in as part of being adventurous and curious. Thus, the boys have mishaps which are thoroughly mitigated, as they are part of the art of mastering the environment from which they are seen to profit, over and over again. When girls make mistakes, or take a fall or dirty their clothes, the story line ends there or goes on to something else, but when boys make mistakes they are seen to persevere or to overcome. In the case of boys, the mishap serves only to heighten the drama, "Will he keep trying , or give up?" and the assumption that goes along with the suspense is that,"He can do it if he tries". Unfortunately, this is not the message that girls receive. Girls usually succeed with the assistence of luck, magic, chance circumstances and heredity, rather than through active mastery of the world and the orientation to achieve.

The results of this study indicate that girls do in fact make more clumsy mistakes than boys (a ratio of 2:1), but the more interesting feature is that mistakes are more tolerated when the actor is female, whereas, boys' mistakes are met with disapproval.

RESULTS: A: WAM 0; WCM 1; OCM 1; AnM 0; WAF 0; WCF 2; OAF 0; OCF 5; AnF 1.
D: 1; 2; 1; 3; 1; 3; 5; 1; 0.

(A = Approval; D = Disapproval)
Male :Female 9:18 or 1:2
White:Other 10:16 or 5:8
Adult:Child 7:16 or 1:2

Between readers, this thema is ranked according to frequency of occurrence as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
2	(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)
	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
4	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
	(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)

One example of mishaps is found in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) in the story Count Ten. In this story Fred has received some seeds and a new spade from his aunt, and has gone out to plant them "in his own bit of ground at the back of the house."

> Jane went with him; and as he dug, she stood near him and talked to him. She held the box of seeds in her hand.

As Jane stood by Fred and talked, she let the box of seeds fall on the ground. The lid of the box came off and the seeds fell out.

> Poor Jane was a good kind girl. She was much vexed, and said so to Fred. But Fred did not speak to her.

> 'O Fred!' cried she, 'why do not you speak to me?'
>
> 'I wished', said Fred, 'to wait till I could count ten ... aunt once told me to count ten before I spoke, if ever I felt angry. I know that I am often hasty to you Jane; and I want to correct myself'.
>
> 'O Fred, how good you are! It was very careless of me to let the box of seeds fall ...'

So we have Fred being the model of self control. and poor Jane, the good, kind girl who is careless and talks a lot (and one suspects that she is not quite so intelligent as Fred).

In (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), Peter and Carol visit Aunt Jane who has pet animals. In this tale Peter manages to drop an egg (just as Carol says "Do not drop it Peter.", refer to Illustration Nos.161-163. Appendix H, p. 375) This illustration shows Aunt Jane with her hands on her hips and her right foot tapping, and her facial expression shows that she is none too pleased with Peter. Next, Peter fetches some water for the hens, but puts too much water in the tin and so he manages to spill water on his shirt. Peter is immediately concerned about what his aunt is going to say to him when she discovers that he has spilt water on his shirt. However, throughout the visit, Carol is the model guest, as she stands back and is passive throughout, doing nothing that would mean risking a mishap.

2.6. ORDER, NEATNESS, TIDINESS, PUNCTUALITY. (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women On Words & Images, 1972)

These qualities are usually required of the good servant, or a deferent role in the labor market. For example, the job of a clerk, or secretary would call for emphasis on order, neatness and tidiness. People lower on the status ladder are offered the certain value of these qualities, as they are necessary for conformity and the smooth operation of a system.

Housewives seem always to be enshrined in a spotless, orderly kitchen, and their aprons, more often than not, are unsoiled. It is as though an apron is an integral part of a woman's attire, rather than a piece of cloth to protect the undergarment from getting soiled. Little girls are shown in the readers to be particularly concerned with cleanliness. In one scene from (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) little girls are shown placing their dolls at a table and being particularly careful to seat them on clean chairs so that the dolls' dresses do not get soiled. (Refer to Illustration No.140, Appendix H, p. 367). When dolls' clothes are a little soiled, the theme moves to laundering them. Little girls are seen with soap suds and buckets, working happily to restore cleanliness and order. (Refer to Illustration Nos.22, Appendix B, p. 332 ,181-182, Appendix I, p. 381)

RESULTS: WAM 2; WCM 3; OAM 1; OCM 1; AnM 1; WAF 1; WCF 2; OAF 4; OCF 1.
Male :Female 8:8 or 1:1
White:Other 8:11 or 2:3
Adult:Child 8:11 or 2:3

Between readers, this thema is ranked in order of frequency of occurrence as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
2	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
	(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)
4	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)
	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)

This thema occurs most often in the earliest reader (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) where being neat, tidy and punctual is part of the scheme of deference. *Letters of Recommendation* illustrates the theme:

(Emphasis & parenthetical comments added)

> A Gentleman (high status) once advertised for a boy to assist him in his office. He had fifty applicants but he soon chose one.
>
> 'I should like to know,' said a friend, 'on what ground you chose that boy. He had not a single recommendation with him.'
>
> 'You are mistaken' said the gentleman; 'he had a great many:-
>
> He wiped his feet when he came in, and closed the door after him; showing that he was *orderly* and *tidy*-
>
> He gave up his seat instantly to the lame old man; showing that he was *kind* and *thoughtful*.
>
> He took off his cap when he came in, and answered my questions promptly and respectfully; showing that he was *polite*.
>
> He lifted up the book which I had purposely laid on the floor, and placed it on the table, while all the rest stepped over it, or shoved it aside; showing that he was *careful*.
>
> And he waited quietly for his turn, instead of pushing the others aside; showing that he was *modest*.
>
> When I talked with him, I noticed that his clothes were carefully brushed, his hair in nice order, his teeth as white as milk. When he wrote his name I observed that his finger nails were clean, instead of being tipped with jet, like the handsome little fellow's in the blue jacket...

Since the time that the Royal Reader was in vogue, the job of office assistant and secretary has shifted from being male to female dominated occupations, but these qualities still remain, along with the low status of the positions per se.

In (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), we have an example of mother being clean and tidy in a story called At Home.

> Let us look around.
> The floors have been swept.
> The beds have been made.
> The chairs have been dusted.
> The cups and plates have been washed and dried.
> How clean and tidy it all is ... Father is at work.
> Mother is washing the clothes ...

(Refer to Illustration No.73, Appendix D, p. 346)

In (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) we find this extract:

> In Holland there is a village which is said to be the cleanest in the world. The houses inside and outside, the streets and everything about the place, are kept in a state of spotless cleanliness.
>
> Women may be seen scrubbing the outsides of their houses and squirting water on the windows to keep them clean. We should be like these Dutch people, in keeping that wonderful house, the body, clean ...

When it comes to cleanliness, it seems as though it is the women who are concerned with the everyday world of maintaining tidiness and order and this is not restricted to the Western women, but to the Arawak women as well, if this story is a reflection of Arawak thought and not just a western idea wrapped up in Arawak people. In (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) we have the story of Rainstorm Goes For A Broom. Rainstorm appears to have the qualities of a good woman in the serving professions, such as nursing, cleaner, housewife, etc.

> She sat on the grass and she kicked up the earth with her toes.
>
> She said, 'Earthland is dirty. I see dust and I see mud. I will go back for my brooms and I will make Earthland clean.'
>
> ... 'She took some cloths to wipe away the dust ... brooms to sweep away the mud. She had big cloths and little cloths, soft brooms and hard brooms ...'

Whenever this thema occurs, it is assigned to Second Citizens such as women, lower class people and Third World people.

2.7. SENTIENCE, AESTHETIC, SENSUOUS. (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images, 1972)

Sentience is the enjoyment of or the seeking of sensory pleasure. This includes, on the one hand, artistic pleasure and the appreciation of natural beauty, and on the other hand, the enjoyment of bodily needs being satisfied. In the readers, this does not include erotic needs, but rather the satisfaction of hunger and thirst. (Refer to Illustration Nos. 168-9, Appendix H, p. 377 , 183-4, Appendix I, p. 382) Often, the satisfaction of these needs occurs in tandem with the expression of nurturance for female adults. Mother produces a cake, or supper, which in turn, delights the children and satisfies (at least for a while) their hunger.

Children also seem to be seen as less distant from the world of nature, and thus they delight in the beauty of things around them, or they fill in time drawing or painting. At the seaside they build sand castles and collect shells. In the main, it is the girls who are aesthetically sensuous, the lovers of beauty, and the boys who delight in the joys of eating mothers' food.

RESULTS: WAM 1; OAM 1; OCM 5; AnM 1; WCF 3; OAF 2; OCF 4; AnF 2.
Male :Female 7:11
White:Other 4:12
Adult:Child 4:16

Between readers, themas in this subcategory ranked as follows in terms of frequency of occurrence:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
2	(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)
3	(2) Nelson's New Royal Readers (1900+)
	(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
	(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)

Note: themas in this subcategory were completely absent in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (6) Collins' Trinidad and Tobago Reader (1960).

In (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), Joy the Chinese girl (refer to Illustration Nos.164-7, Appendix H, p. 376) likes flowers, especially red roses, she watches a spider spinning a web and admires the spider as it does so, then she watches a fly being caught in the web. Next, armed with a bottle she captures a caterpillar to take to her nature study class where the teacher explains the nature of the tiny beast and the children discover that it turns into a pretty yellow butterfly.

In the same reader ,(8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), Indra enjoys looking through the book that her father gave her, and asks her father about a pretty bird that she finds in there. Indra's father tells her that the bird is a scarlet ibis, and that it lives near water, has a long bill for catching its food in the water, and long legs to walk in the water. Father is the "knower" in this interaction.

Also in (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), school children are seen drawing faces, and coloring them in so that they can be cut out and made into masks. At the close of the class the children laugh at the funny faces that they have made and teacher suggests that they should have a party soon. So in the very next story, the children are having a marvellous party and "jumping" to the music of a steel band (refer to Illustration No.160, Appendix H, p.374) They are all in carnival costumes and the music that the men are playing makes them want to jump. (refer to Illustration No.214, Appendix J, p.393)

The enjoyment of and the art of Trinidad's carnival is not only for children but for everyone, as this poem suggests:

Carnival

I hear music,
Loud music, sweet music
The steel band is playing,
Masqueraders are jumping.

I see costumes,
Pretty costumes, gay costumes
There are many colours,
I want to paint them all.

I am happy,
Very, very happy,
It is Carnival time,
Let's all join in the fun.

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) there are several scenes where the children are enjoying their picnics, and in fact, a picnic basket appears to be with them whenever they go anywhere. This is especially true when they go to the seaside. However, when they are not eating the delights that are found in picnic baskets, they manage to enjoy the beauty of things as this excerpt shows:

> 'Do come and look at my pretty shells,' called Bill to his twin sister Susan, as they played on the sands one day.
>
> The sun was shining brightly, and the white waves danced on the shore.
>
> 'How lovely the water looks!' exclaimed Susan. 'Let us go in and bathe.'
>
> Bill showed Susan the pretty shells which he had picked up, and then ran to ask his mother to keep them for him.
>
> 'Where are your shells Susan,' asked mother. 'Didn't you pick up any?'
>
> 'Not yet, Mummy,' Susan shook her head, 'but I have built a lovely castle in the sand.'

The children obviously enjoy the beach and the sensuous and aesthetic experiences of building castles, collecting shells and playing in the cool waves, or swimming in the deeper zones. It is also a place to enjoy friends and play together (usually under mother's watchful eye). (Refer to Illustration No.205, Appendix J, p.389 and Illustration No.169. Appendix H, p. 377)

2.8. VICTIMIZATION, HUMILIATION, REJECTION (from Women On Words & Images, 1972)

The study done by Women on Words and Images (1972) discovered close to one hundred stories that condoned meanness and cruelty as part of the story line (and this figure would have been even higher if the count of animal and fantasy stories had been included). In the majority of cases one sex demeaned the other; and in this case it was boys who directed their attack on girls (the ratio of boys to girls being 65:2). This negative behavior, which affects girls as a class within society, was never punished or commented on.

As the demeaning of the female gender is a pervasive cultural norm, it is not surprising to find girls demeaning themselves. Such remarks as: "I am just a girl", "Even girls can..." are indicative of the second class status of females that girls hold toward themselves. The readers give boys the amunition, if society hasn't done so already, to attack girls as foolish, vain, silly, dumb, boring, no good at games, sports etc., ad nauseum.

This finding was not so marked in the present study. Characters who posed as victims of humiliation or rejection were the elderly (old men in readers (1) Nelson's Royal (1890's) and (2) Nelson's New Royal (1900+)), the ugly (in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader where the ugly princess is rejected), those who assumed a false, but higher status identity (the morocoy, the black daw, and the dog), the ignorant (the monkey in Trouble Made the Monkey Eat Pepper) and girls (in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) where boys laugh at girls for inviting them to a dolls' wedding).

Others were rejected as punishment for selfishness and "rudeness" (e.g., the vain sister who refuses to draw water for the fairy), the crab (for not deferring to the wishes of the ugly old black fairy - is issued with a cracked back) Cinderella is scorned and forced to do "domestic chores" by her stepmother and stepsisters, but wins out in the end because she is beautiful, self denying, dainty, and forgiving (the long list of attributes that make up the feminine constellation). The good daughter is rejected by her mother because of the "sins" of her vain sister, and the heroic martyr Russian girl is rejected by women who suspect that she is a "woman of the street", i.e., a whore.

By and large, it would seem that it is not only men but women who reject or victimize other women. They are victimized for being ugly, conceited, selfish, impolite, or dirty. They are victimized for not being feminine, i.e., for not conforming to the stereotype or colonized prescription for themselves. There is a circular problem with being feminine, in that being feminine imposes constraints as the list of feminine qualities is inconsistent: having to be nurturant, beautiful, polite, deferent, self sacrificing, dainty, clean, wearing pretty dresses, being passive, submissive and subordinate. The double standard implies that females are victims whatever they do. And if women themselves conform to the images inherent in the dominant culture, then it comes as no surprise that there is little affiliation among women as women devalue themselves when they share in the attitudes and values of the male dominated culture of Western Society.

2.9. EXPRESSING EMOTIONS, FEAR, COWARDICE (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words and Images, 1972)

One of the important stereotypes conveyed to young boys is the appeal to reason and skill, thus the facade of bravery and courage in the face of certain danger, or loss. It would seem that the rational male is complemented by the irrational, helpless female, which enhances an aura of success or bravery on the part of the male. Boys overcome emotions through reason, thus suppressing emotion and persevering in the face of potential hazards.

Little girls are also issued with the stereotype that being feminine is being afraid of danger .. or even perceived danger (as in shrieking with terror and climbing onto a chair when a mouse is in sight, or being frightened by the sight of a spider in the case of Miss Muffet). As the feminine stereotype conceives of women as soft, emotional creatures, it is not surprising that readers support this trend. In the case of men, there were different connotations associated with emotional expression. Men were allowed to express anger, but the expression of fear was not approved of. When we find a boy in tears, it is because he is rejected by his classmates for being a slow learner (viz., dumb, stupid), but this situation is reversed when he learns to succeed using the method of perseverance. This story line, in (1) Nelson's West Indian reader (1890's) approved of the self assessment of the boy, that he was a failure as that was based on firm evidence, ... but what is even more important is the other message, i.e., that boys can succeed if they try harder. This is hardly the picture presented to girls. When females cry, the males take over to restore peace.

The label of coward is a very potent negative one when it is levelled at men. When one fellow says that he will stand beside his friend, but when the test situation presented itself, he scurries up the first tree on the sight of a bear, his friend scoffs at him for being a coward. Similarly, when a brother boasts of protecting his sister in the event of danger and then runs off when he sees the dun cow approaching, he too is labelled a coward. Boys should know that they have to protect their sisters when danger is evident, to do otherwise appears to be unmanly and is often scorned at in the readers (especially the earliest ones).

RESULTS: A: WAM 1; AnM 1; WAF 3; WCF 3; OAF 3; OCF 2.
D: 0; 2; 1; 1; 0; 0.
(A = Approval; D = Disapproval)
Male :Female 4:12 or 1:3
White:Other 8:5
Adult: Child 8:5

Between readers, the ranking of themas in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series
1	(10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)
2	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)
	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
	(5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)

2.10. IMPATIENCE, IMPULSIVITY, IRRATIONALITY. (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images, 1972)

Those who cope with and master their world are more likely to do this by keeping their "cool", calculating their actions so as to avoid threatening situations. They unflinchingly scan the situation for what it is, and then plan a course of action. Conversely, those who do not act intelligently to manipulate their environment are shown using devices that hamper efforts to be effective. Women who are portrayed as less knowledgeable, less adventurous, less mobile on the one hand, and more dependent, more emotional and generally more innocent or naive, are vicitms of their incompetence. One would expect to find a higher proportion of women or girls in this category. However, in this study, it was the men who were shown to be impulsive or impatient, but the numbers were very low. There were four themas of this type in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), but on the whole it was not a popular thema.

RESULTS: A: WAM 5; WCF 0.
D: 2; 2.
(A = Approval, D = Disapproval)
Male :Female 7:2

There appears to be some gender variation on the consequences of impulsive behavior , e.g. , when girls acted in this way, the consequences were negative. The same was not true of men, who were sanctioned two times in seven for acting impulsively. The message that was implied, was that when men were impulsive it was because they were given to taking action and on some occasions they tended to be a little "headstrong". This thema was bolstered by one character in particular, who was also given to hallucinating, and so to generalize from the number of instances to all males in the readers is not a logical leap in this case.

The stories of Don Quixote and Sancho in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), slot well into this category, as Don Quixote rides off with no provocation except that which he himself has created and entered into. The saying goes that the neurotic builds castles in Spain, but the psychotic lives in them, this appears to be the case with this folk hero.

> Don Quixote is a mad Spanish gentleman, nearly fifty years old, who travels in search of adventures in rusty armour on a broken down old horse named Rosinale.
>
> The adventures that Don Quixote goes out to find are the kind of adventures that he has read about in books. Indeed, the cause of his madness is his having read so many books about magicians, dragons, giants, and battles that he has come to believe that everything he has read is

> true, and that the world is full of giants and magicians whom it is his duty to go and fight.

Note: After reading the last paragraph, many children in Trinidad might begin to worry about preserving their sanity, as critics have been hammering at the theme of the irrelevance of material in readers for decades - and their readers are full of magicians, dragons,battles and an array of heroes who were born in England or Europe rather than in Trinidad, or the West Indies.

The other part of Don Quixote is that he may be mad, but he must still have some wit, as he is never without his faithful, patient, loyal, shrewd and talkative servant, called Sancho Panza, and whom Don Quixote calls his "squire" (as was the custon in the adventures of "knights"). Thus, while Don Quixote might think himself a knight, he really does have a very dutiful "squire".

In the story of the Windmill in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), Don Quixote attacks some 'giants' that are actually windmills and in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) Don Quixote Fights the Army of the East, the madman actually charges into a mob of sheep, thinking that he is attacking a pagan and preventing a marriage between the Pagan Alifanfaron and the Christian Pentapolin's daughter.

2.11. INTUITIVE, SENSITIVE TO OTHERS. (from Women on Words and Images, 1972).

The old saying has it that men are rational, while women are intuitive. That women, being more closely linked to nature's heartbeat, seem to "pick up" things or know things in a way that is unconscious. This intuitiveness makes them naturally suited to sympathy with others. They are attuned to others because they are "naturally" altruistic, or nurturant which is one explainer offered for the high proportion of females in the "helping professions" (at the levels that are lower in salary than, say, doctors and administrators, where the helpers are seen to do very well).

This thema is not a popular one, as most of the caring for others is listed under nurturance and altruism. There are few instances where women are shown being intuitive, but there are many instances where it is implied rather than explicit, especially in the case of mothers who are seeking to promote harmony and friendly relations among children.

RESULTS: WAF 2

Note: There are many instances where people are intuitive or sensitive to others, which are missed on small units, such as themas, because it is an overriding theme, rather than a module of behavior.

Cinderella in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) is sensitive to others, especially to her stepsisters when she sees them wanting to try her glass slipper; to step into her shoes as it were, and become the prince's wife. The blind fiddler in (6) is intuitive, and so is the ugly princess in the story of that name. Being blind, the fiddler "sees" the real beauty of the princess as it is not in the eye of the beholder that her beauty is "seen". And being sensitive or intuitive, the princess comes to realise that that the men do not want to marry her, not because of her extra-ordinary beauty, but because she is ugly.

In the earliest readers (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), the good little girl retrieves the old man's hat without having to be asked, and the Heroic Daughter asks pardon for two men who have been kind to her in exile. The dame who sees a small boy crying, understands the problem of the "slow" boy, and tells him to be "slow but sure".

Uncle Rimer in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Reader (1971) is sensitive to his nephews, and can even predict some of their requests. John, in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960), is pictured as the "good" planter who is sensitive to Maria, and "buys" her brother Alexandro from his "master" so the sister and brother can be together again.

Mothers are particularly sensitive to the needs of their children. In readers, (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) mothers are seen to make cakes for their children to take on class picnics, so that the children can share them with their friends, they tell stories when children are unhappy on rainy days, they go to great trouble to buy food at the market so that husbands will have that favorite dish, and they buy gifts that are "appropriate", and bring joy to their children.

Thus, it seems that there are many instances in the readers that reflect this theme, but these are illuminated by reading "between" the lines rather than looking at the lines themselves.

2.12. SUCCORANCE, HELPLESSNESS. (from Child, Potter & Levine, 1946, and Women on Words & Images, 1972.)

Succorance refers to behavior that elicits attention or protection, sympathy, comfort or other forms of assistance. The succorant behavior itself is a dispositional cue for the type of assistance required in any given situation. Child, Potter & Levine (1946) classify succorance under six headings:

1. asking for help or requests for assistance.
2. asking favors or permission to do something.
3. asking for material aid - food, money, gifts.
4. expression through the condition of the character, usually emotional, such as crying.
5. asking to be rescued or protected.
6. asking for sympathy or reassurance.

RESULTS: WAM 1; WCM 1; AnM 2; WAF 5; WCF 3; OAF 1.
Male :Female 4:9 or 1:2
White:Other 9:1
Adult:Child 7:4 or 2:1

In the case of the White Adult Male, the man is in need because he is old and thus not strong enough to carry his heavy load up a steep slope. Women's helplessness, however, is explained by the fact that they are (after all) women.

This extract from Brer Annancy in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) shows Brer Annancy using his powers of persuasion to procure food for his family. In Brer Annancy and the Plantains (refer to Illustration Nos.60-61, Appendix D, p.343) Brer Annancy asks for assistance and uses an emotional plea to convince Brer Rat of his need for some of the plantains that Brer Rat has harvested.

> What could he do?
>
> Just then Brer Annancy saw Brer Rat. Brer Rat had a bunch of plantains - lovely long green plantains.
>
> Brer Annancy ran to him: 'Brer Rat! Brer Rat.' he called.
>
> Brer Rat stopped.
>
> 'Brer Rat, I have looked everywhere. There is not a scrap to eat in my fields. Oh my poor wife and children, what will they do?'
>
> Brer Annancy began to weep.
>
> The tears ran down his face, but he kept an eye on the plantains ...

Brer Rat is none too fond of Brer Annancy, and so he gives him just four plantains, which is one each for Brer Annancy's wife and children. He roasts them himself, and gives one to each and makes comments about how nice they look:

> 'Eat up your plantains, my dears. I am very hungry I have been out all the morning to find these for you. I am tired and very hungry. But I will go without. You can have my share!'

Brer Annancy sounds so self sacrificing, but his intentions are less than honorable, and he manages to have an impact. His wife and children apportion him half of each of their servings, which means that Brer Annancy manages to have the largest helping of them all.

2.13. PIOUS, RELIGIOUS FAITH (CHRISTIAN, HINDU, MOSLEM)

In many cases, Second Citizens are shown as locating control outside of themselves, or beyond themselves. Hence, the expression of belief in some supernatural power relegates causality to a realm beyond reach. The choice of religious affiliation is also a marker of ethnic identity. Different cultures have different belief systems, and the religion of the West is Christianity. In the earliest readers, (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+), Christianity is held up as the religion, the right religion, and other faiths are viewed as 'pagan' or worse.

RESULTS: WAM 4^c; OAM 1^h; WAF 1^c; WCF 1^c; OAF 1^h; OCF 1^h.
Male: Female 5:4 or $4^c+1^h:2^c+2^h$
White:Other $6^c:3^h$
Adult:Child 7:2 or $5^c+2^h: 1^c+1^h$
(Note: c - Christian; h - Hindu; m - Moslem)

Thus, we are not presented with any hristians in other than White ethnic groups. The only other religion indicated is the Hindu religion, whose affiliates are East Indians.

The most blantant comparison between the Christian sect and the Hindu sect comes in the earliest readers, (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) (which is no longer in use in Trinidad and Tobago) in a story called The English Girls and her Ayah (refer to Illustration No.2, Appendix A, p. 327) When the young English girl wanders away from her Ayah in pursuit of an attractive little fawn, she and Motee (the Ayah) find themselves in grave danger. Here is how the story line goes:

> 'WE are lost!' cried the poor Hindoo, 'Lost in the dreadful jungle!'
> 'Do not be so frightened, Motee,' said the fair haired English girl; 'God can save us, and show us the way back.'
> The little child could feel, as the Hindoo could not, that even in the lonely jungle, a great and loving friend was beside her ...
> (and the friend is not the Ayah)

Suddenly, there is a tiger in the scene, and the danger is increased along with the urgent need for help. This is a situation for a rescue, so who could fill the role?

> It was her father whom Providence had sent to the rescue. Lifting his little girl in his arms, he bore her back to the tent; leaving his servants, who had followed in his steps, to bring in the dead tiger.

A little further on in the reader, the message is underlined:

> The Hindoos rarely hunt the tiger, or even fire on him. They let him prowl about their houses, and carry away their cattle, and even their children. But wherever Europeans go, they strive to rid the country of such dangerous animals.

In the story of the Heroic Daughter in the same reader,(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890s), we find a self-sacrificing girl, who having achieved her goal of gaining release from exile for her parents and two other men, seems to achieve the "ultimate reward" :

> she had bought her parents' freedom with her own life.
> One morning, a few months afterwards, when the nuns with whom she lived went into her room, they found her with her hands clasped, quietly sleeping her last long sleep.

One immediately assumes that "paradise" was her new location, as that would be a fitting reward for a Christian martyr.

In (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), there is a description of East Indians in the West Indies, where we learn that the caste system has been broken, and replaced by the class system promoted by the English system of social arrangement. Some East Indians are doctors, lawyers, and clergymen, and we are told that those East Indians who belong to the Hindu and the Moslem religions have "pretty" temples. The description is in the third person, so when East Indians are referred to, it is a "them" rather than a "we" perspective, and the description is from an English point of reference.

2.14. SELF SACRIFICING, SELFLESSNESS, FORGIVING. (from Women on Words and Images , 1972)

This is a category assigned to those behaviors that verge on martyrdom, or total negation of self in the face of the needs of others. This expression of altruism goes beyond nurturance or normal caring, to an extreme. For example, Joan of Arc would fit readily into this category, as it requires a denial of self for a "good"purpose.

The example that comes readily to mind, is the one just mentioned, the case of the Heroic Daughter in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) who for the sake of her parents, takes on a horrifying journey, motivated by the strength of her conviction and faith in God (i.e., the Christian version) to appeal to the Czar for the liberation of her parents from their exile in Siberia. The girl is the epitome of virtue. When she has completed her task, she returns to die in a nunnery, as she has been totally exhausted by the trials and tribulations encountered on her journey; starvation, physical abuse, a hint of rape, the theft of her worldly goods, etc. The eyes turn misty as she goes to her rest and yet somehow, it seems like a crowning of virtue rather than a great loss.

RESULTS: WAF 5; OAF 1; AnF 1.
Male :Female 0:7
White:Other 5:1
Adult:Child 6:0

Between readers, the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows

Rank	Reading Series
1	(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960)
2	(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)
3	(1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's)
	(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+)

Note: This was not a popular thema, and was completely absent in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925), (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949),(7) Blackies Tropical Reader (1962), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975), and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)

The implication given in the readers is that women are by nature selfless and that at times they take this to an extreme. The "maternal instinct" is alive and well in the readers, when children are in danger or separated from mother, the female parent will take tremendous risks to retrieve the child, thus putting all thought of self aside.

Although this was not a popular thema, and seems to have disappeared in the more recent publications, it was an important idea in the stories of nation building in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960). People came from many lands and cultures to make their homes in Trinidad (and Tobago, we assume, although Tobago is never mentioned in this reader), giving up a past was part of building for the future. People adopted an English mode, the English language, an English education for their children, and they often labored in the fields for a subsistence rather than a "living". However, the picture of Trinidad in this reader is such a glowing one, so full of hope and wealth, that sacrifices seem to pale into insignificance compared to the "obvious" gains.

2.15. LONELINESS, ISOLATION. (from Women on Words & Images, 1972)

In this category were placed solitary activities, usually tinged with qualities of loneliness and boredom. In the study done by Women on Words and Images (1972), girls predominated in this category; girls watching television, sitting along in a sandbox or getting new clothes to go nowhere. There is an air of resignation in this theme, in that girls by and large, are defeated by their environment. they will surrender to boredom, while boys will "do" something to cope with time and fill the days with activities.

In this study, there were very few instances of loneliness or isolation that were picked up by the tool of thema analysis. Thema analysis implied that it was male animals that were lonely (refer to Illustration No.57, Appendix D, p.343) Girls were shown in solitary play, but they were not necessarily lonely or resigned or bored, even though they may have been very boring.

Analysis in terms of behavioral sequences or themas is not the best detector of some themes, as the philosophy of themas is that if we detect these small units of behavior and add them together, we can see the picture as made up of these parts. When it comes to the idea of loneliness and isolation, it seems as though a more global approach is required, as these things are inferred and it is a matter of "reading between the lines" rather than taking the lines literally. A more Gestalt st approach where the whole is more than the sum of the parts, reveals that there were many instances of loneliness and isolation than the net of the thema analysis was designed or constructed to catch.

In (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) there is an example of a lonely rabbit who lived on an island in the middle of a big river.

> He was not happy.
> He had no one to speak to and not much food to eat.

And so the rabbit resolves to get across to the mainland somehow or another. On the mainland there were many rabbits and there was a lot of food to eat. There were some difficulties however, in getting to the other side of the river, as the rabbit could not swim, there was no boat to carry him across and the water was infested with alligators.

> Now Brer Rabbit was sly!

It seems as though the rabbit was a clever psychologist, in that he played on the ego of the alligator to manipulate the entire alligator population into forming a bridge so that he could jump across from back to back on the pretense of counting them

> When he came to the last, he jumped off its tail on to the land. Then he turned round. 'Ha! Ha! Ha! Good kind alligators. You were very good and kind to let me run along your backs. That was all I wished to do. Ha! Ha! Ha!'
> Brer Rabbit laughed until the top of one lip split.

So the lonely rabbit gets to the other side by using his wit and cunning, but in this story the means of achieving that goal are not really approved of. The same is true of a similar story where a monkey jumps over a bridge of crocodiles, and when he turns around and laughs at the crocodiles, these huge beasts rush at him and take the skin off his back before the monkey can scramble to safety (in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)).

In (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) we find a lonely Brer Annancy who has been an "honorary bird" and was given feathers to fly to Bird-Cherry Island. However, when the modest birds had finished eating and were ready to fly back to the mainland, Brer Annancy was only concerned about eating the cherries that were still on the trees. But the birds were insistent:

> 'Come with us,' said Brer Bird, 'or we shall take back the feathers we gave you...'

So, the birds took back their feathers and flew away. This was a familiar theme, if you recall the Black Daw in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) and Martin the Morocoy in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971).

> Brer Annancy sat down by the cherry tree. It soon got dark! He felt so cold and sad. He did not want the cherries at all. He had had too many to eat. He wished he was at home, but he could not fly, and he could not swim. He did not know what to do, so he sat by the bird-cherry tree with some cherries in his hands and felt cold and sad.

Thus, in these two stories the thema analysis could pick up the idea of isolation and loneliness because the words were there in the lines saying that these animals were lonely and sad, or that they were isolated.

There is no need to interpret the action or significance beyond the lines themsleves.

Those characters that have a false identity or a borrowed identity, and thus a superficial membership in another group, and at the same time being alienated from their own group, are thrown into psychological isolation and loneliness when they are forced out of the desired, and usually more desirable group in terms of privilege and status.

Princesses appear to be a lonely lot, (refer to Illustration Nos.39, 41-2, Appendix C, p.337) having everything except friends of their own age group, and the population of princes and princesses, as one might imagine, is rather limited. In the story of the Princess and the Frog in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) we have a lonely girl who has to carry a revolting frog around the castle, because the frog retrieved her golden ball from the well on the condition that she take him with her wherever she goes. It does not appear to occur to the princess that English speaking frogs are a very rare species indeed, and that this one might be more than the common amphibian. However, once she takes the frog into her bedroom, and closes the door, the frog is transformed into a handsome prince, which proves that this frog was no common beast! And, of course, they marry and live happily ever after ...

Another princess (refer to Illustration No.118, Appendix F, p.358) somehow manages to wear out a pair of iron slippers every night, and the question that perplexes her father the king, is how his daughter could do such a thing in a routine day of wandering around the castle? So the king decides that whoever solves this mystery should marry the princess. (The concept of daughters as property and rewards is not an uncommon one in "reader culture".) So a bright young man with a few magic aids that he has stolen from other people, discovers that this pretty maid has a very lively evening, as she stealsaway from the castle each night to go dancing in the land of giants. For his cleverness and detective zeal, the king gives his daughter in marriage to the young man. We are not told whether this was the end of her loneliness, and her escapes to the land of the giants, or whether real loneliness is just beginning. The way the story line flows, it would seem that marriage was the prize for the young man who discovered the secret life of the princess and the punishment for the princess, who has worn out so many pairs of iron shoes. What is cerain is that the princess has nought to say about her future and the choice of marriage partners. The thoughts and feelings of the princess are not the focus of the story line, and so while the story is named after her, she is really the victim of the tale rather than the protagonist.

Cinderella (in (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader, 1900+) is lonely (refer to Illustration No.20, Appendix B, p.332) in a house full of people, as she is held in subjection, having to do the housework while living with her memories, plus daily visits to her mother's grave. The miller's daughter in Rumple-Stilts-Kin in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) is locked into a room to spin straw into gold and she is certainly feeling lonely and helpless as she sobs as if her heart would break; that is, until Rumple-Stilts-Kin enters the room to restore hope.

We might infer that some men must have been lonely, as they were certainly isolated. Martin Rattler, from a seaport in England, could not have been familiar with the South American jungle, but the story stresses his bravery and courage, rather than his isolation (in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers, 1925). The same must have been the case in the story of Robinson Crusoe (in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers, 1925). He could hardly have been at home on his tropical island and one suspects that he reflected on this loneliness often, before he found Friday. The theme of loneliness, however, is not labored, as Crusoe is so busy making himself safe and comfortable for fifteen years. The emphasis in the story is placed on Crusoe's resourcefulness and initiative rather than on his feelings of loneliness and isolation.

One girl in particular in (6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago Reader (1960) must have been lonely and isolated and that was the deaf and dumb daughter of the rich man in Lazy Jack (refer to Illustration No.114, Appendix F, p.356). She was never seen to laugh and so it may be safe to assume that she was cut off from normal communication and was thus lonely, as well as unhappy. When her father gives her in marriage to a fool, Jack, her loneliness may have abated, but whether her unhappiness decreased or increased, may have been another story!

Thus, there were numerous stories where there is evidence of loneliness and isolation, but the story line does not spell this out so that it can be picked up in the thema analysis.

2.16. SHOPPING.

In the process of analysing the readers, it became evident that the women were either at home or out shopping. In most cases, the shopping is for everyday items such as food, clothing and toys for the children. Thus, when women were out of the house, or kitchen, it was more than likely that they were at the shopping center, buying things for the family. Nowhere do we find a woman shopping for herself, or getting supplies for her hobbies, talents or interests. When children shop, however, they are looking for toys or books or clothes for themselves, or else running errands for their mothers.

RESULTS: WCM 2; WAF 2; WCF 2; **OAF 2.**
Male :Female 2:9
White:Other 6:5
Adult:Child 7:5

Between readers, the ranking of this thema in terms of frequency of occurrence was as follows:

Rank	Reading Series	
1	(5)	Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949)
	(8)	Collins' Ibis Readers (1970)
3	(9)	Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975)
4	(10)	Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)

Note: Second Citizen themas are not nearly as popular as the Active Mastery themas, and this subcategory was not well represented. However, the readers tended to suggest that women spent most of their time engaged in family concerns, and thus when they were out of the house they were still preoccupied with the role of wife or mother or housewife. Thus, when women were shown out of the house, they were usually to be seen engaged in a function linked to the roles related to family, and shopping was one of the chief activities that took women out of the house.

In (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970), Peter and Carol go shopping with their mother. Peter is requested to carry the bag for mother. First they stop at the supermarket and the children help to load the shopping cart with groceries; then they go to the toy shop where "mummy" gets a doll for Carol and a cricket bat for Peter, and finally they go to the bookstore to buy each child a book before catching the bus home. (Refer to Illustration Nos. 130-31, 134-5, Appendix H, pp. 363, 365 On another occasion when the family is at the beach some fishermen advertize "cheap fish", so "mummy" gets a "big one" to make fish tea, as "the children like fish tea". In the next shopping scene , mummy and the children stop at the market en route to the airport to get fresh fruit to have for "daddy". Mother buys bananas and mangoes. And when daddy arrives home he has been shopping too and he has bought gifts for his wife, and Peter and Carol. Even the dog is not left out and receives a new collar (refer to Illustration No. 133, Appendix H, p. 364).

In (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Reader (1949) Mother, Janet and Teddy are seen shopping for a new red winter coat for Janet as it is autumn and Janet's coat from the previous season is too small for her to wear again (Shopping for winter coats is not a common event for the children in Trinidad except for those children who are travelling abroad) (Refer to Illustration No.95, Appendix E, p. 352)

In (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) mother is shopping for toys again. When Dora and Dick go shopping for "Mummy", they get butter, sugar and eggs, and are later seen helping mother with her "baking day".

By and large, these shopping scenes are promoting middle class images. The children in "reader culture" are forever receiving toys and books in middle class surroundings, and in an "average family" (i.e., the nuclear family, where there are "2.5" children, and middle class mode). "Mother" is concerned exclusively with her role as mother and wife, and is always referred to as "Mummy" or "Mrs." and is never given a name that is independent of this family relationship or identity.

2.17. ASSUMING A FALSE IDENTITY.

One theme that emerged in the present study was the concept of assuming a false, but usually more prestigeous identity. Thus we have a morocoy who tries to be a bird (as birds are more aristocratic), a black daw who tries to be a peacock (as peacocks are regal and elegant and spend their time strutting around castle gardens), the dog who wants to be a horned beast (as the horned beasts are going on a luxury cruise) ..etc. (Refer to Illustration Nos.13, Appendix A; 26, Appendix C, pp.331, 334) In all these cases, the falsity is discovered and the usurpers are rejected both by their own kind as well as the higher status group. Alienation is their lot, both psychologically and socially.

In the case of a young girl who assumes an aristocratic style, by changing her manners and her dress, the result is that she is scorned for her pretentions. The story line in (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's) is clear, that class affiliation is as fixed as biological givens, such as skin color and gender assignment. The moral of the tale is issued in strong form, that this girl should learn to know her betters, and act according to her class.

The story that follows is that of the Black Bird in Borrowed Feathers that echoes this theme of rigid class system and class based identity:

> This fable shows the folly of those who set their hearts on fine clothes, and who try to lead a life above their station. So long as we keep in the place which God has given us, we are happy, and people honour and respect us; but nothing is so absurd as the vanity which makes us try to seem finer, or richer, than we really are.

Social mobility is definitely discouraged in the earliest readers.

In (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925) when the milk maid (refer to Illustration No.27, Appendix C, p. 334) and the Hindu peasant dream of gaining wealth and power, they somehow manage to lose their contact with reality, whilst aspiring for the better life, and thus, lose the initial investment required for the efforts to procure the same, by spilling the milk or breaking the vase (respectively). All the scheming and calculating on how to accumulate wealth and gather capital is shattered when the first step is ruled out. The message is clear; these poor "oppressed"people are "greeedy" in wanting what is obviously valued in society, and it is implied here, that it is only right and proper that their aspirations be checked, and they learn to "know their place" in the social order.

The fact that this idea emerges in books intended for the Caribbean audience is of interest and significance as the idea of identity has long been discussed in the Caribbean context where black people have imitated white values and norms to gain acceptance in a predominantly white controlled economy and social structure. The question of black/ white identity is a well worn theme as Fanon (1957) has stressed. What has been the key to success has been the assumption of English identity which might well be considered a false or inauthentic identity. When characters in the readers are being rewarded by a change of identity or punished by a mark of deformity (for not being deferent) the children in the classroom may be getting a picture that is symbolic of other trends in Caribbean society, not only in the past but in the contemporary setting.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS ON SECOND CITIZEN THEMES

In the readers studied it was found that a pattern emerged where some character types were consistently more numerous within the general category of Second Citizen themas than other character types.

Tables VI and VII(Percentage and Ratio Figures for Character Type by Major Theme and Reading Series) show that females are more numerous in Second Citizen Themas and while Other ethnic groups are not as numerous as the White character types, there is a higher proportion of representation in Second Citizen categories. Both females and members of Other ethnic groups are represented less frequently than White males, but it would seem that when they do appear in the readers, they are given roles that have been defined here as Second Citizen categories. In several readers where there are more characters of Other ethnic membership, the ratios of White:Other are significantly higher in the Second Citizen categories, than in the Active Mastery categories. Table VII indicates that in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) the ratios of White:Other on Active Mastery is 2:1, 1:12 and 1:7, and on Second Citizen the ratios are 1:2, 1:49 and 1:26.

D. Biographies

The "great" people in the culture presented in the readers, have a pattern or set of images that conforms to the standards set by historians, or at least, those historians who have assigned weight or merit in that scholarly enterprize. (Refer to TableXII,for the list of people who were treated biographically in the readers, and to Table I for the proportions of Biographies in the Reading Series studied, as not all the reading series included Biographies, and some of the "great" people were mentioned in other story type categories. However, these "great" people were listed in Table XII).

The history of "Others" such as women and ethnic minority groups or Third World peoples has been severely limited, and in most cases such that these groups have been made invisible because of the overwhelming emphasis and significance assigned to political and economic history which appears to be a white male conceptual framework. The history of "Others" is rarely the focus of the tales of human achievements, and thus one has to assume that "Others" were there all the while, somewhere in the background, and seemingly unimportant or simply not essential in the process:

> ... Their history has been a special kind, distorted and alienated because it has been refracted doubly ... through the lens of (white) man's records and observations; through the application to it of (white) male values.
>
> (Lerner, 1977, p.xxi. additions in brackets mine.)

TABLE XII.

BIOGRAPHIES BY READING SERIES.

Nelson's Royal Reader (1)

Duke of Wellington
Napoleon Bonaparte

Nelson's West Indian Readers (3)

Christopher Columbus
Robinson Crusoe
Admiral Lord Nelson
Sir Ralph Abercromby
Captain Picton
Captain Bligh

Ginn's Caribbean Readers (4)

Christopher Columbus
Sir Walter Raleigh
Marco Polo
John Cabot
Jacques Cartier
Captain Henry Morgan
Sir Edmund Hillary
Louis Pasteur
Dr. Lister
Dr. Ross
Dr. Lazear
Chacon
Booker T. Washington (OAM)

Nelson's New West Indian Readers (10)

Christopher Columbus
Captain Stoddard
Colonel Guthrie
Sir Thomas Modyford
Captain Henry Morgan
Du Casse
Simon Danz
*Cudjoe
*Accompong
*Johnny
*Nanny
*Juan de Bolas

(* Maroons)

Historians have given attention to wars, politics, economic concerns, legal, moral and religious codes, and in all these areas, emphasis has had an ethnocentric, as well as a gender based bias. In the English culture, the sine qua non of Caribbean Education, the majority of heroes or "worthies" have been white men, and the record has served to stamp prevailing stereotypes by buttressing this dominant group or placing a few individuals on pedestals to represent milestones in human history.

Christopher Searle (1972) has emphasized that in the English cultural record, the black person has been defined as "slave", and as little else. And, apart from this definition as "slave", other definitions have consistently assigned black people into categories that are synonymous with low status or inferior status.

In the case of women in history, the picture is much the same as it is for Third World people or those groups who have been assigned "marginal" or "other" status:

> Because most women have lived without access to the means of social definition and have worked outside the spheres of reward and recognition, they have not had a history as historians have defined the term. Men, given the traditional definition of historical significance, have been active; women, passive.
> (Gordon et al., 1976, p.75)

As a compensatory device, historians have made attempts to recover some events, and some people in the contexts of these events, and have lined them up as "worthy" of scholarly attention and recognition. Thus, attempts have been made to include biographies of "exceptions" who have been great, in spite of their "deficit" or dispositional draw-backs. But here again, the "exceptions" have measured up in the traditional value system of historical significance, and are thus not representative of their own group, but "tokens" who conform to the mainstream concept of history.

In the readers analysed, these exceptions were not presented and no woman was seriously treated biographically. The "worthies" were almost entirely white and male. The inclusion of stories about the Maroons (in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)), and Booker T. Washington in the United States (in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939)), does little in the direction of altering the overall picture, or to make the heroes resemble the children in the West Indian classrooms, as these stories are written from the dominant culture's perspective and in the end the dominant culture is upheld as the most significant and triumphs over the challenge of subcultures within the nation. These black figures are indeed exceptions, however, their story lines hardly compare with those of Admiral Nelson (in (3) Nelson's West Indian Readers (1925)) or even Sir Henry Morgan (in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971)) who was a ruthless buccaneer until he was taken from the Tower of London and co-opted by the establishment on the principle that "A good buccaneer makes a good policeman or detective". (Refer to Illustration Nos.48, Appendix C, p. 339 ,85, Appendix D, p. 348)

Booker T. Washington (refer to Illustration No.65, Appendix D, p. 345) was pictured as a "superman" because he was the son of slave parentage, who managed to attain success in the white world, and to espouse white middle class values.

> After emancipation in 1893, for example, the continued oppression of blacks in the United States could be rationalized by Booker T. Washington because blacks were not as educated as whites. He believed that blacks should not be regarded as equal by whites until they made themselves worthy of equality by becoming equally educated.
>
> (Carnoy, 1974, p.19)

The story of Booker T. Washington, in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) might well be categorized as a "cop-out", in that it appears to be saying that Booker T. Washington was a model "black" in that he could function well in white middle class society, and still further, he could promote the white middle class image to other blacks through education. It is interesting that the emphasis in the story is given to being practical and working with one's hands.

In the tale of the Maroons in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) emphasis is given to a people who desired freedom and defended the freedoms that they had achieved. The Maroons rejected the position of bondage and slavery, and strived for independence and the ability to direct their own lives and shape their own destinies in the hills of Jamaica. However, in (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971), the story of the Maroons concludes by saying that now that the Maroons have been put in their place and accepted the authority of the British government (at that time) everyone in Jamaica could sleep peacefully, knowing that these people would cause no harm. Of course, the people who would fear the Maroons would be the planter class who had held African people in bondage to harness their labor in the cane fields and estates.

E. Occupations

Man is unsexed by Failure,
Woman by Success.
Margaret Mead

The same idea as that given in the quotation from Margaret Mead might be reiterated using black and white symbols, for it has been seen that the black person is "whitened" by success. In the Caribbean context success fits with imported norms or values, and success implies a code of manners or conduct, and beliefs that fit white norms. For a picture of this context and the hints of white-black conflict Christopher Searle (1972) writes:

> ... Their skins tell of Africa and Asia, their religions of Canterbury and Rome, their political institutions of Europe and America. Their economies draw from New York, Canada and London, and their Education system speaks of Oxford and Cambridge Examining boards .. And they live, some only a few miles from the South American coast.

The writings of Fanon (1957) brought the conflict of color and culture to the fore:

> We understand now why black people cannot take pleasure in their insularity. For them, there is only one way out, and it leads into the white world.
>
> Every colonized people - in other words, every people in whose souls, an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation, that is, with the culture of the mother country.
>
> Willy-nilly, the (Caribbean) Negro has to wear the livery that the white world has sewed. White civilization and European culture have forced an existential deviation on the Negro.

> Imprisoned on their island, lost in the atmosphere that offers not the slightest outlet, the Negro breathes in the appeal of Europe like pure air.
> (Searle, 1972, p.4)

Thus, when it comes to career choice and one's ability to choose a position that can satisfy a need for achievement or accomplishment, the subtle infusion of norms and values of the dominant group or culture appears to have scripts or messages for each individual to acknowledge and accommodate by either accepting these prescriptions or else rebelling and rejecting the same, and thus thrusting oneself into a dilemma of being at variance with prevailing norms. In the history of education in Trinidad, we find examples of individuals forging through traditional norms, and creating waves that were to affect generations that followed. When "Free Boys" entered the white domain of secondary education and then tertiary education, they met with new conflicts and had to resolve these on a personal level in order to get beyond the problems or obstacles to success on the social level. Similarly, for females, a precedent was set (in 1932) when three girls from St. Josephs Convent sat for the Higher School Certificate and all three passed (Council Paper No. 54 of 1933. Education: Administration Report of the Director of Education for the year 1932, Trinidad Government Printery)

Individuals negotiating career choice against the backdrop of traditional or prevailing norms can avoid conflict by choosing occupations designated "black" or "female", or else remain ineffectual in low status ranking positions. In the case of females, it has been seen that to choose careers that are in effect slotted for them and are more often defined as careers that actualize "nature" given feminine traits, such as being nurturant or caring, and receiving little financial reward.

Thus, women work with children, care for the sick and are employed in the "helping" professions and the "service" professions. In choosing a career that has been designated "female" or "feminine", women acquiesce to social norms, and those definitions of sex-appropriate profession selection and performance. Stein and Bailey (1973) indicate that women are receiving incomes that are consistently lower than incomes assigned to male professions, and that women's lower status is a direct result of their economic inequality. Quite often the lower income is congruent with the theme of "self sacrifice" as women are told that a good nurse is not in the profession for the money but for the people "she" serves, and the same theme is repeated in other "feminine" professions, where the reward for service is praise and tokens of appreciation for their dedication and service. There is a positive value assigned to females who enter "feminine" professions, and there is the strong negative message directed at women who decide to enter professions that have traditionally been ear-marked for males and have become "masculine" over a time period. Stein and Bailey (1973) point out that women who enter "feminine" roles or careers can achieve a certain harmony of interest in that they can pursue a career choice and also find acceptability in society. When women enter careers that have been assigned to males and have become "masculine", then there is not the same harmony of interest, and such a choice creates dissonance in rank and serves to promote internally generated conflict, as well as externally imposed negative sanctions. Thus, when women have forged their way into careers that have been male domains, the conflict has been considerable for the "tradition breakers". The same is true of different racial or ethnic groups who have been slaves or servants by traditional standards and who gradually permeated the ranks that were traditionally white male slots in the social and occupational ladder, thus making a mockery of the myth of racial and gender inferiority. Once minority members entered the ranks that were never before negotiated by their kind the example was set for others to follow and old myths crumbled (but slowly).

School curriculum materials provide students with representations of the social world beyond the classroom. Adult characters in elementary readers have identities not only along biological lines, or family roles, but also as participants in the work force. As such, these curriculum materials might be reviewed as informal Vocational Guidance Manuals, offering children ideas about future employment possibilities. Other researchers who have looked at the division of labor in the "reader culture" in children's literature in North America have concluded that there are enormous discrepancies between the work forces of the readers and the division of labor in contemporary society. Usually the work force of the readers is compared with the National statistics and it is found that the bias in the readers is toward traditional norms or stereotypes. There is rarely a reader that attempts to give a picture of a society in the future, or an ideal society, and very few stories present a picture of the labor force that is similar to the world in which the child is growing up.

Throughout history and across cultures, the labor market has been segmented into specialiazed fields to achieve an interdependence of groups functioning withing the broader framework of the wider society. Margaret Mead (1949) maintained that in the past, the division of labor by sex was a functional basis for efficient production. Women, without birth control and without technological aids, were seen to stay close to the home and the children, and to concern themselves with food preparation, weaving and basket making, sewing and many other tasks that could be performed whilst they watched over their chilren. Since the industrial revolution, the division of labor has become further specialized into the assignment of women to the private sphere and men to the public or economic sphere. In brief, men are the breadwinners and women are the home-makers and mothers. Occupations, like any other cultural attribute, are assigned hierarchically, and thus they are differently evaluated or weighted in terms of social and political standing. Thus, there are those occupations that symbolize power and prestige, and there are those that are weighted as adding up to nothing, or "nothing much", or "little better". Occupations are themselves symbols of status or worth in each culture, and thus, while there is a functional interdependence of work or production there is not a measure of equivalence assigned to each worker.

Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973) offered a simple dual classification of occupations, dividing them into primary and secondary segments. These general categories are defined as having relatively consistent or stable characteristics. Primary occupations are those that require skills and are highly paid. They also offer opportunities for vertical promotion or advancement. In contrast, secondary occupations are not so substantially remunerated, turnover is high, and job ladders are few, or else very limited. The primary occupations are generally filled by those in the dominant category of society, and thus, in Western society, it is white males who take the choice positions. Secondary occupations are predominantly (though not exclusively) filled by minority workers; women, recent immigrants, youth and Third World ethnic groups. Like the positions, those who fill them are assigned secondary status, and the position confirms the evaluation of worth or privilege (or lack of privilege in this case). In the Trinidad context, there has been a transition from English Imperial power and a white population of expatriots filling the high status positions, to black rule where black intellectuals have come to power (Oxaal, 1968). However, it is true that black people now take those positions that were formerly the province of expatriots, but it is also true that the base of the social pyramid is predominantly black, and in this sense, there has been no real change . Lloyd Braithwaite (1953) offered the thesis that the bulk of those people on the bottom of the social ladder were those whose skins were black, and that there was a social ladder that promoted people along color lines. The social gradation was like a color chart, going from black at the base to white at the apex. Education and "wise" (white) choice of marriage partners were ways or strategies for those with an eye for success and the means of circumventing the social system or social ladder. In this scheme of things, females made their contribution by trading caste for class. Hence, the double divorce of black women who were denied the educational opportunities to negotiate the education route to success and could not offer caste to those men who had elevated their class standing via the education route. As the Negro population commenced the transition from slave to free citizen and then ruler, they made the cleavage between themselves and the other ethnic groups known (in much the same way as the English had done before them. The Negro who had been colonized by the English Imperialist, now colonized the images of the other groups as a power gaining psychological device.) Syrians were described as speaking "rash potash", and jeered at for not speaking

English (which was rather ironic in view of the fact that the Negro by and large spoke Creole); Indians were referred to as "coolies", and all those visible differences such as their religion, dress and eating habits were scorned. The local Negro and Mulatto populations, having been within the system for so long, albeit on the very bottom of the hierarchy, was committed to the "standards of living" and the symbolism of their respective classes. The values placed on the colonizers' external trappings or displays of prestige and power or privilege were subsequently given utmost importance as status markers for the transition society.

The stratification of the labor force or occupational hierarchy by gender and ethnic affiliation has been evidenced throughout history, and has been given special emphasis in Trinidad's diverse population. While the typing of occupations along traditional patterns has undergone considerable modification in recent history through the entry of black men and a small number of women into the positions formerly "pegged" for white males, there is still a tendency to think of status and privilege as a white male norm, and the entry of "Others" is seen as exceptional and extraordinary, and the person who enters that position is given to believe that success is gained through individuals excelling rather than collective action. Education in the West promotes the attitude that each individual is separate and competing, and the market is open to the successful candidate, because the system is an objective selecting body. Education has the reputation of being the model of democracy, and the perpetuation of this myth is an important part of maintaining the present values, as well as the social order that is buttressed by those values.

The inclusion of tradition oriented curriculum materials has contributed to this concept of occupational stratification by presenting children with images of the division of labor that are outmoded and rigidly defined along gender and ethnic lines. The readers studied are loaded with stereotypic images that are past oriented or post-figurative and as such offer an unrealistic or old fashioned model of gender and race location in the work force. This is more marked in the earliest readers, but not entirely absent in the more recent publications expecially in the case of the female workforce.

Cultural prescriptions influence career choices, and this is evidenced in the essays written by Trinidad secondary school students in the Rubin and Zavalloni study (1969) which was published in We Wish To Be Looked Upon. The essays of Trinidadian girls are of particular interest here. The girls who were writing the essays were from the secondary school system and as such, they do not represent the entire cohort or peer group, but rather, a select or elite group in Trinidad society. However, their career choices are tradition oriented in that they conform to the sex-appropriate jobs, although there were exceptions for their time in girls who selected a medical career (which was the most popular choice among the male population of secondary school population in the Rubin & Zavalloni study, 1969). Girls in the main chose teaching, nursing and secretarial jobs.

The distribution of girls' choices was not uniform, however, and reflected subcultural differences in the Trinidad population:

60% East Indian girls chose careers requiring university education
30% White girls " " " " "
33% Colored girls " " " " "
39% Negro girls " " " " "

23% White girls chose the career of housewife
4% Others " " " " "
(Rubin & Zavalloni, 1969, Table 23, p.90)

Rubin and Zavalloni (1969) drew attention to the idea that was put forward by feminist critics and also Stein and Bailey (1973) that girls experience conflict between the choices of career and marriage, whereas the male population is expected to choose a career and also to marry without there being any conflict in this arrangement.

> Many of the girls who are faced with a genuine dilemma about their future roles discuss this problem, indicating various modes of adaptation from ambivalence to conflict to compromise...
> (Rubin & Zavalloni, 1969, p. 88.)

The results of the Rubin and Zavalloni study (1969) indicate that 33% of their sample of girls foresaw their future as homemakers or housewives, predicated by a few years in a sex appropriate career. 50% of the sample drew attention to the career-marriage conflict, but again, there were sub-cultural differences apparent in the resolution of that conflict. White girls appeared to experience the greatest conflict over modern versus traditional roles, while East Indian girls appeared to indicate a full-time career or role as housewife, while Negro girls were less anxious on this score (as they were already in contact with Negro women who had achieved economic independence). These choices are consistent with values within the subcultural groups.

This career-marriage conflict might also have a special significance in light of the group sampled, as well as the socio-political climate of that time. The girls are taken from fifth and sixth forms and as such they represent a select group of the Trinidad population. For example, nowhere in the essay themes do we find girls choosing to work as "maids", vendors in the market place, or serve as waitresses in restaurants or bars, or cleaners in government institutions, even though these positions are predominantly female, and have a low social ranking or status. In fact, the conflict in choice between marriage and career is more akin to the choice of professionalization and "secondary professionalization", as both imply a middle clas style of life and both are linked with an elite position in Trinidad society. The expectation that a girl should have a career in order to become a fit companion for her future husband could only by viewed as a normative expectation in middle-class and upper-class female populations. Such a choice is a luxury. This trend was particularly salient in the white subculture where 50% saw marriage as a post career focus. In contrast, East Indian girls saw the securing of a higher education as a sacrifice of no small proportions, as it signified a break with traditional subcultural norms, where career symbolized personal independence, rather than a creative dependence in the role of housewife. It is also true that the "sacrifice" of the white population in attaining a secondary education was not so great, but rather something that was expected and paid for without any weight being attached to the money spent. For the East Indian girls however, this may have been quite the reverse as parents were not as affluent as the white parents and the financial outlay may have appeared like a sacrifice for the families concerned. This economic consideration, coupled with the traditional importance of sacrifice in the religious value structure, may go somewhere towards accounting for the subcultural differences in essay themes for the girls in the study.

The high, and sometimes unrealistic expectations of career choices evidenced in the Rubin and Zavalloni Study (1969) especially in the multiple successes of East Indian boys, was part and product of the socio-political climate of the time, when Trinidad's youth experienced the impact of "black power" rhetoric and also began to see the previous generation , moving into positions that were previously exclusively white. In the main, the career choices of males tended to be more progressive than those of females of the same age group. However, the often cited choice of "housewife" for the females was not as conservative as it might seem to the newcomer to Trinidad, as this too is another example of moving up in the "white" world. The notion of being a housewife was symbolic of stability, middle class values and income, nuclear family structure and a husband who could afford the privilege that the wife was to share and interpret as a significant step upward. Within this tradition then, the feminine personality and social role assignment and the acievement needs of women could be partially or wholly satisfied vicariously, through the accomplishments of a husband. Hence the saying: "behind every successful man... ", which indicates that the woman is there nudging the male to achieve so that the success benefits both parties. Similarly, the choice of a "feminine" career as a means of expressing achievement motivation had the advantage of conforming to typed role ascriptions, which would not detract from the woman's identity as society had defined her. Thus, by choosing marriage as a career choice girls may have actually been aspiring to move up the social ladder on a kind of "rebound theory" of status breaking, as males in their peer group were emphatic about using their education as a vehicle for (often radical) upward social mobility.

This vibrant trend in choice of careers, particularly in the sample of secondary school male pupils, could hardly have been a product of their early exposure to school readers, as the models presented there do not challenge, but actually confirm the traditional patterns of career choice. Skin color may have changed in the illustrations (usually by coloring European faces with a grey cloud), but gender roles were embedded in a post-configurative or tradition oriented model where there is no challenge to the gender assignment of occupational roles. In the readers, women were predominantly housewives and mothers, except in cases where they were seen as teachers, nurses, and bookstore attendants, or else, forced by necessity to "make ends meet". Female vendors, are usually shown as black and poor, and the implication is quite clear, that women at the lower end of the socio-economic heap were not "protected" by a stable marriage or nuclear family model, or generous welfare state, but had to go out in the market place to provide for themselves (and probably a number of children, but this is never stated in the readers). Thus, in the readers, the necessity for women to work is presented as a low status phenomenon, while marriage was presented as the "luxury" of middle class women; i.e., marriage was for "ladies".

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) there is an example of a female-appropriate career for the young female students in the West Indies, particularly Trinidad. The Making of an Air Hostess is simply loaded with stereotypes (refer to Illustration No.224, Appendix J, p. 397). In most countries the term "air hostess" has been discarded, first in favor of "steward and stewardess" and then later, the sex indefinite term, "flight attendant". In this story, one assumes that the role of serving passengers on an aeroplane is exclusively female, and that the role of pilot is exclusively male. In contemporary society, this is not the case, as flight attendants are both male and female, and the pilots are predominantly male, but females are now entering the profession in unprecedented numbers (having won court cases that proved that the airlines have actively discriminated against females with the same qualifications and experience as males).

The list of qualification required to become and "Air Hostess" serves to illustrate the notion of sex-role stereotyping in the occupation, as the readers describe it: (Parenthetical comments added)

> A girl who wants to be an air hostess should be between nineteen and twenty-four yrs. old (i.e., is age specific). She should be between 5 ft. and 5 ft. 5 in. tall (i.e., height specific), and she should weigh between 115 and 125 pounds (i.e., weight specific). These figures are not always strictly observed. They can be ignored a bit if other factors are in the girl's favor (... And that does not mean a bonus for Educational achievements) ... 'O' level certificates are not insisted on, but an air hostess should have received at least a good general education.
>
> (Nurturance)
> The main job of an air hostess is to look after the safety and comfort of the passengers. She must give them any help they may need. Sometimes a very young child may have to travel by itself. In such a case, the airline, for a fee, will put an extra air hostess on board and her job will be to take care of this young passenger...
>
> Serving food and drink to the passengers is another of the duties of the air hostess. It is always interesting to watch air hostesses serve meals to passengers. They are very calm. It is done without any rush or hurry, and yet so smoothly and swiftly. They often carry as many as four loaded trays at a time. Those of you who have seen this must surely wonder how they manage it. (Implication: the girls are really very smart and clever to carry four trays that have been designed to be stacked)
>
> (Self Denying)
> No matter how they may feel. they are expected to remain outwardly calm - even after any possible danger becomes known they are expected to think of the passengers first.

> (Physical Appearance, Beauty)
> All airlines are very proud of their air hostesses. LIAT and BWIA are no exception. Their beautiful girls with their charming smiles play a very large part in their advertizing campaigns.
>
> (and to summarize)
> The life of an air hostess is not all glamor and adventure. It calls for patience, courage, steady hands and nerves, a sunny disposition, and a love of people ... If you have all those qualities, you will find the life enjoyable and exciting...

Of course, given that the qualifications of the air hostess are related to age, sex, physical appearance, and personality characteristics one could only expect to be an air hostess for a limited period of time, and thus it is not a career but a temporary position. In other parts of the world, the unions have called attention to the airline companies that use these conditions of employment as they are discriminatory. The employment of young women for a limited period of time was accompanied by relatively low salaries and limited powers to the employees. This trend has been confronted by unions, so that "flight attendants" now get a better "deal" and have more power to negotiate their terms of employment with their employers.

Unfortunately, there are very few employment opportunities for females offered in the elementary readers, and those that are offered are stamped "female" or "feminine". A quick review of the occupations for "Other Adult Females" indicates that the school reader is a very poor vocational guidance manual for girls in the Trinidad classrooms in their earliest contact years:

OAF Empoyment Opportunities

Airhostess
Ayah or child nurse
Bookstore attendant
Cake vendor
Cane laborer
Cocoa laborer
Crabcatcher
Fish vendor
Fruit vendor
Nurse
Potter
Seamstress
Servant
Teacher (usually elementary)

The occupations listed in the appendix (refer to Appendix K, pp.399-3) indicate that the occupations are stereotyped along ethnic and gender lines, and that the more recent publications are not so rigid as the earlier readers in terms of ethnicity, but there is little real change in terms of female occupational assignments.

In TableXIII,Labor Force in Agriculture, Industry and Services, 1960, a comparison is made between world figures, and figures from the Caribbean the United States of American and Canada, (from McHabit, 1977). The figures indicate that women are engaged in all these area, but they do not tell us where in the industries the women are located and what their status is, relative to the males employed in the same industries. However, the women are over-represented in the Service industries, and under-represented in the other two areas of Agriculture and Industry. It is true to say that the readers do not give anything that resembles the contemporary labor market distribution by gender or ethnicity. The employment pattern in the readers is very particularistic rather than a general picture of the work force. The employment opportunities are extremely limited, and the theme is a traditional one.

TABLE XIII.

LABOR FORCE IN AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND SERVICES, 1960:
The Percentage of the Total Female and Male Labor Force.

	% in Agriculture		% in Industry		% in Services	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
WORLD	54.1	64.5	23.1	14.1	22.1	21.0
UNITED STATES	8.7	2.1	42.4	23.9	48.8	73.9
CANADA	16.2	4.6	39.5	19.9	44.3	75.5
CARIBBEAN	56.3	45.5	19.5	13.3	24.0	41.1

(Source: ILO Labor Force Projections, 1965-1985 quoted in McHabit 1977 page 11)

RATIOS OF MALE TO FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THESE INDUSTRIES

WORLD	5:6	2:1	1:1
UNITED STATES	4:1	2:1	5:7
CANADA	4:1	2:1	4:7
CARIBBEAN	5:4	4:3	1:2

(Note: these ratios are approximate)

McHabit (1977) asserted that:

> In the Caribbean, women are now making up nearly one third of the labor force, and although the unemployment figures continue to rise for both sexes, women are increasingly coming into the labor force, partly as a result of changing social attitudes about women reflected from similar changes in metropolitan countries, and partly due to economic necessity. It may be ironic that the Arab nations, in which the status of women is the lowest in the world, by raising oil prices and ensuring the resultant economic pressures felt particularly by small underdeveloped and developing countries such as those in the Caribbean, will in the long run, have been responsible for the forced catapulting of women into the labor market and the resultant changes in the value assigned to them by society as a whole as their economic value increases and their labor changes from Domestic/Services to Industrial.
>
> (McHabit, 1977, p.12)

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations from each reading series are located in the Appendix. Appendices A to J contain respresentative illustrations from each series.

Reader	Illustration Numbers	Appendix	Page
(1) Nelson's Royal Reader	1-13	A	
(2) Nelson's New Royal Reader	14-24	B	
(3) Nelson's West Indian Readers	25-56	C	
(4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers	57-92	D	
(5) Nisbet's Janet & John	93-102	E	
(6) Collins' Trinidad & Tobago	103-124	F	
(7) Blackies Tropical Reader	125-129	G	
(8) Collins' Ibis Readers	130-169	H	
(9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture	170-199	I	
(10) Nelson's New West Indian	200-225	J	

Illustrations in readers may serve several roles, but the chief role should be to enhance meaning through pictorial symbols, especially in the case of readers at the earlier stages where the child has yet to grasp the meaning of the printed text in full. Thus the illustrations in the readers studied are significant to this negotiation of self and the experiential world, in relation to the world presented in the texts. The images given in drawings can help to lend meanings to the words so that the child can quickly discriminate and comprehend the thing or meaning signified in text form. Thus, illustrations should aid meaning formation rather than distract from or add nothing to the text presented to the young apprentice of literacy.

There have been numerous studies of images of females and blacks in the textbooks used in North America which indicate that the roles portrayed in these curriculum materials have been stereotyped. Another criticism levelled at the illustrations in children's books is that the actual pictures are often drawn for an older audience, rather than the young child at the concrete stage of development who has not yet learnt to appreciate the more abstract designs and representations. For example, ink drawings may have an appeal for the adult audience, but these drawings may be confusing for the child and the colors monotonous. In the readers studied here, the drawings were predominantly ink sketches with variations in adding color to the general picture. For example, in (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) the faces were European in outline, but then filled in with a gray cloud. One assumes that this smearing of gray across the faces was an attempt to change the ethnic identity of the characters, which was achieved, but just which group these characters now belong to is a little confusing. As a result, the characters look like European children or adults, with their faces and hands colored in grey. Such representations were referred by Jones (1971) as "color me brown" or "sepia" types. Changing pastels does not alter the identity of a figure in terms of race, nor does this change transform an irrelevant textbook into a relevant one. This alteration is merely a form compromize, which facilitates confusion for the young child, rather than enhancing significance in the text. Jones (1971) describes the "color me brown" or "sepia" illustration as an insult to black children. And still further, the experiential world of these "sepia" characters was not familiar to the black child, but rather, a white middle class experience. Jones (1971) felt that black children should not be given images that were not of them, but for them. For Jones (1971) this was patronizing and insulting, and as such, it should be replaced by images that were realistic and appealing to the children for whom the text was intended. Jones (1971) suggested that photographs could be used effectively to present children with natural images that would add to the text rather than confuse the child with a mixture of ethnic images or symbols.

In the earliest readers, the drawings in the readers are simply out of date, as one would expect. The fashions reflect the trends of that time. Girls are dressed for the English climate, and they wear long pinafores , or an apron over their long-sleeved dresses, plus a hat or bonnet. The fashions for males are also strange to the modern eye. They are seen in boater hats, or caps, and they wear a tie when they are playing around the house. Often times, the illustrations include a fire-place, which is not a common sight in Trinidad homes. Besides, if West Indian children should gain the impression that a fire in the living-room would be a nice idea, as the children in the readers appear to gather around these fires and play with cats or read books, or generally enjoy being near the fire, the outcome might not be so innocent as the intention. The machinery and appliances are also antiques to the child growing up in the 1980's. Thus, using textbooks that are not only intended for another culture, but also another period of time could make the leap from the word to the world of experience very difficult indeed. However, just how frequently the children in the modern classroom are presented with readers written before the 1970's is not known.

In (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) the ink sketches have been made more colorful at the expense of realism. Color appears to have been splashed on the drawings in a way that ignores the figures outlined in ink. This may be appealing to the aesthetic sense of adults, but for young children such appreciation may not be so readily forthcoming. In one instance (refer to Illustration No.209, Appendix J, p.391) the East Indian characters at a Hindu wedding have been given green skin. And in another illustration (refer to Illustration No.204, Appendix J, p.389) Ann and Sita have been drawn with huge eyes. In many drawings the figures have been given large lips, flat noses and high foreheads, which is more a caricature of the black person. In reality there are so many individual differences that it is difficult to find this caricature.

In (4) Ginn's Caribbean Readers (1939) photographs have been used to illustrate black workers in the banana fields and cane pieces. The use of photographs can bring naturalism into the illustrations, but in the case of the photographs used in this reading series, the camera is held at a distance from the people being photographed so the subjects are not distinct and added to that the quality of the reproductions in the readers is poor and thus the possibility of enhancing realism and naturalism is lost in the blur.

In the main, attempts to present Trinidad and Tobago children with pictures of themselves have been lost in many instances, as illustrators appear to go beyond realism to caricatures, penned in ink, and then sprinkled with dashes of color, as if a cloud of blue, green, orange or gray would enhance the general scene. Children in the elementary grades may not appreciate this artistic licence, but rather reject the images presented as "unreal".

In Table XIV the illustrations were broken down by reading series and character types. Of the readers studied, readers (4) Ginn's Caribbean

TABLE XIV.

ILLUSTRATIONS: RATIOS OF CHARACTER TYPE BY READER.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
WAM	13	1	3	13	1	5	-	-	2	10
WAF	1	2	1	1	3	1	-	8	1	1
WCM	1	1	1	4	1	3	-	25	1	-
WCF	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-
OAM	5	-	1	5	-	27	-	1	-	2
OAF	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
OCM	1	1	1	1	-	2	-	1	1	2
OCF	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	1
M	4	1	3	3	1	6	-	1	1	2
F	1	1	1	1	3	1	-	1	1	1
W	2	27	2	1	169	1	-	1	79	1
O	1	1	1	3	-	1	-	9	1	5
A	4	1	3	1	1	3	-	1	1	2
C	1	8	1	1	10	1	-	3	3	1

SUMMARY

WAM:WAF	3:1	M:F	2:1
WCM:WCF	1:1	W:O	4:3
OAM:OAF	2:1	A:C	1:1
OCM:OCF	1:1		

readers (1939), (8) Collins' Ibis Readers (1970) and (10) Nelson's New West Indian Readers (1971) were the only ones where the number of "Other" ethnic characters outnumbered the white characters. In most readers the characters in the illustrations are predominantly white. Readers (1) Nelson's Royal Reader (1890's), (2) Nelson's New Royal Reader (1900+) (5) Nisbet's Janet & John Readers (1949) and (9) Oliver and Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) were intended for English School children, and when black characters are presented, the perspective is English and these characters are seen as "foreign" or from the "colonies", rather than as subjects in a West Indian context and from a West Indian perspective. For example, the appearance of an East Indian girl and a West Indian boy in an illustration in (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) (refer to Illustration No.197, Appendix I, p. 385) is not intended for children in the West Indies to enable them to identify with the characters in the reader, but to present English children with an image of the ethnic mosaic of England. This is the only illustration in that reading series that presents "other" ethnic characters, so the impact is ambiguous. These children are not given any lines or made subjects in any way, they are simply there in the illustration (The ratio of White:Other in (9) Oliver & Boyd's Happy Venture Series (1975) is 79:1).

Table XIV indicates that the illustrations in all of the readers featured males more often than females. This trend was particularly marked in the case of adult characters. The illustrations of children of both sexes were comparable in terms of numbers. However, numbers alone do little to demonstrate equality in the culture presented in the readers. Thus, it is more often the case that when characters appear in illustrations, they are not only caricatured in style, but also in terms of the roles that they are performing. By and large, the illustrations only serve to underline or overstate prevailing stereotypes. In the earliest readers, the illustrations reflect the styles and fashions of the times in which they were written, as well as the location of the characters not only geographically, but also the cultural climate of that period. It is unfair to say that these readers reflect traditional values and norms when they are in fact part of the past, and were intended for children growing up in the past. However, if these readers are used in the modern classroom, then the images presented must be viewed in terms of the perspective of the children in the classroom, rather than the intentions of the publisher. Old fashioned images are also irrelevant images, outmoded images, and the attitudes and values of the past have also been revised in the intervening years or decades (in some cases).

The charge that is perhaps more poignant, not only of illustrations, but of the readers and curriculum materials generally, is that they are transmitting images of privileged classes of people. Havinghurst (1976) emphasizes the relative importance of social class and ethnicity in the process of human development, and feminist psychologists would also stress the importance of being female in the same process. The world is not middle class, but the images in the readers would seem to ignore this fact. Many people in Trinidad do not live in nuclear families, many do not have both parents under the same roof, and not all mothers can afford to or even want to stay at home baking cakes, or going out on shopping excursions to buy grocies, toys, books and clothes for the children. Whenever father appears in the illustrations, he is either just coming in from work, just going out to work, or else, sitting down to a lovely supper that mother has so diligently prepared for the family to enjoy. Thus, whenever father is flashed onto the page, he is the solid middle class citizen, employed, and always dressed in clothes for "going out". (Of course, in Trinidad, where the temperature indoors is more likely to be cooler than the temperature out of doors, it seems a little strange to see father donning a jacket and hat to make his exit.) Similarly, the readers tend to suggest that being a housewife is "proper" and by far the best career for women. Housewives seem always to be smiling and cleaning or cooking, or nurturing or spoiling their children. Those women who are working, with the exception of nurses and elementary school teachers, are from the lower socio-economic levels, and have not the luxury position of being provided for by a man. Inferences that one might make about men from lower socio-economic levels are only to be guessed at, as the men in the readers are of the responsible family type, who are toiling to provide for a wife and two children. If men from the lower socio-economic levels are presented, it is usually in connection with their work, and there is no mention of their home life or the problems that they face on the social and financial level. We do not see men going to the Housing Authority to ask for accommodation for a woman and ten children, but a man in the job location, usually in the background and rarely as subject of the story line.

> The characters illustrated nearly always bear no resemblance to the majority of children who use the texts in Trinidad and Tobago. Always impeccably dressed, these characters operate against a background of luxurious and well furnished homes and well tended gardens and engage in rituals and activities not normally associated with the majority of the people. Such illustrations can only foster, especially in children bred in poverty and discomfort, a sense of alienation in so far as they remove all opportunity

> for identification with the characters and situations described and perpetuate the impression that education is something that is irrelevant to their own personal lives.
>
> (Knight, Carrington & Borely, 1974, p.30)

If the readers for schools in Trinidad and Tobago are to have any significant impact on individual children in the classroom, then it is imperative that the images presented in school curriculum materials are the mirrors of the children themselves and that the actions that the characters engage in are common events in the local context. To do otherwise, or to continue to do otherwise, is to alienate the children who are present in the classrooms, by compelling them to take another class or culture seriously, whilst ignoring or never being made explicitly aware of themselves or their own culture. Not only do the illustrations appear unreal, but they make more explicit the fact that the images are foreign or "incredible". If the images presented in the readers are to invite or compel the child to engage in developing reading skills, then the child must be able to comprehend the reality presented, and still further, the child is better served if he or she is the subject of the text, and thus can interact intimately with the characters portrayed. There can be little hope that reading might become an imaginative process when the child's imagination is stretched to an already enormous point, by first having the child grasp some significance or meaning, rather than the reader directly engaging the imagination in the actual process of rehearsing texts that symbolize one's own life, one's own perspective and the world of the familiar. Illustrations need not further distance the child from the text, but enhance the relation between the written word and images that can be extrapolated from the text. Illustrations that take the child as seriously as the child is forced to take the illustrations and the text may assist the apprentice of literacy, rather than hamper progress.

CHAPTER VII.

A. Limitations

This study has been an attempt to understand some of the ways in which the materials presented in curriculum materials for reading instruction have been "colonized" along ethnic and gender lines. While there has been some progress made towards understanding the structures of bias and the configurations of stereotypes, the study has not been offered as an "answer", nor has it been able to articulate such a lofty goal as being a final statement on notions of colonized images in the reading textbooks.

* Although care was taken to secure texts that are currently in use in Trinidad and Tobago, and also texts that were in use during the twentieth century, there are no figures offered as to whether these texts are actually being used in the classrooms of the nation, and if they are being used, there are no figures on the frequency of their use.

* The analysis of content of the reading materials is specific to the textbooks that were studied, and although the comments made could possibly apply to other textbooks, it is not intended that the findings should be generalized beyond the data sources.

* Thema analysis for the analysis of behavior presented in the texts has its own limitations in that it is not a panacea. This instrument of analysis does give us useful information that is relevant to the analysis of human behavior, but it does not give us the total picture. Breaking behaviors down to the smallest unit and then piecing the information together does not necessarily capture the total,as behavior does not equate with an additive model and literature, even at the

elementary level is not literal.

★ To study readers that were not written for the children of Trinidad and Tobago, and then reveal that the material is not relevant to the children in the classrooms of Trinidad and Tobago can hardly be a revelation. Thus the important question to ask about material that is "culturally irrelevant", is how this material affects the child in the classroom, rather than use terms like "culturally irrelevant" which gives the impression that the material does not touch the child. It is here contended that irrelevant material does touch the child and that in the process of negotiating the foreign or irrelevant material, the child is actually being "alienated" from the local context.

★ When dealing with notions of social structure, and the dimensioning of power along the lines of ethnicity and gender, the old dilemma of "is" and "ought" comes to the fore. Thus, in Western society where the power structure, not only at the macro level, but also at the micro level is dominated by white men, the question for the authors of children's readers is whether to present the world that is or the world that ought to be. So, if it is found that there is a white male bias in the images presented in the text, then it might be said that the children are being served a slice of reality in the reading textbooks, and to present a world where gender and race has an equal place is to offer a world that does not exist. It is here asserted that children should be offered images that promote equality for all people, and so that is a bias that colors this thesis.

★ Having said that readers should offer the ought position it is then paradoxical to prescribe that children be offered images that spring from their own existential situation. This dilemma is partly resolved in that "minority" groups have challenged the traditional hierarchy and in contemporary society these "minority" groups are making inroads into slots that were originally exclusively assigned to white males. The gender and ethnic bias in the labor force has been affected by the promotion of the ideal of "equal opportunity". It is also true that there has been a shift away from the idea that men belong in the public domain and women belong in the private domain. Gender roles have become more diversified in contemporary society, although it is also true to say that the situation that exists at the present does not conform entirely with the definition of ought.

* The results obtained from the various analyses of the content of the readers used in the classrooms are not identical, although there could be no doubt that there is a trend that emerges from the results that consistently favors white males. If one looks at the results obtained from the analyses of main characters per story unit, and main character per thema unit, it is evident that the results obtained from thema analysis are more conservative than the results obtained from stories. This was because there is a higher probability that stories will present a male in the lead role, whilst in thema analysis the content of the stories is broken down into units of behavior where males were still more numerous, but not to the same degree as they were in an analysis that took stories as the unit to work with.

* When one is looking at hierarchies of power distribution, and the notion of stereotyping along ethnic and gender lines, it is also true

that one could be looking at other features that are significant in the assignment of people to locations in the social hierarchy. There is a confounding of gender and ethnicity with social class. However, it is also true that biological attributes such as sex and race have been defined in terms of gender and ethnicity which are terms that indicate social definitions of biological givens. To look at colonization in terms of class instead of gender and ethnicity has its merits and would be relevant to any study that teases out other factors that are also aspects of class. The notion of class avoids issues of race and sex and even gives a picture that glosses over women, in that social class is often assigned according the status or occupational level of the head of the family, and the head of the family in Western societies (and other societies as well) is usually male. In colonial society, class and race were intermarried. Thus social class and gender and ethnicity are interrelated and thus images of gender and ethnicity are affected by consequences of class assignment. In this study, the emphasis has been given to gender and ethnicity, and efforts have been made to introduce notions of social class at different points in the study (indeed, it would be difficult to look at gender and ethnicity without doing otherwise).

* It is not the object of this thesis to assume that humans should or even could be liberated from biases or somehow escape traditions, but to accept that traditions and biases are the stuff of civilization and part of being human. However, it is important to examine the myths that have been brought forward as traditions by way of remythologizing those traditions and reshaping biases to conform with higher ideals.

The point that has to be underlined is that traditions are shared by members of a culture, and still further, that traditions carry a weight of adherence that retards radical change. However, traditions can be blindly accepted as "tradition" or else each individual has to recapitulate and recreate traditions, and perhaps question and challenge the merits or biases carried forward in the name of "tradition". Authors of reading textbooks and educators do not reside outside of the realm of values and cultural definitions of reality, although it is hoped that people who are shaping policies and materials for instruction are also people who are aware of the trends that are challenging traditions and the rationales for such challenges, and that these considerations are incorporated into the policies and decisions that are made for children who are negotiating themselves in the matrix of the human world of values, and social assignment.

B. Implications

The primary goal of reading instruction and instruction materials is to facilitate the process of learning to read. The ease with which the child learns to translate text into sounds or comprehensible schemes is related to the meaning load that the text carries for the child. The implications for reading materials follow from these basic assumptions.

* Reading curriculum materials should be subject to re-examination to ascertain whether the texts are keeping abreast with modern trends and changes in perspective, especially in this age of accelerated change.

* The reading materials could be looked at in terms of relevance or meaningfulness to the child. It is of crucial importance that words convey meanings that are immediately available to the young reader and thus the material should spring from the child's existential situation or experience.

* Care should be taken in the Trinidad situation to avoid linguistic conflict in the reading texts so that confusion is not injected into the process of learning to read. Words that have specific meanings for adults who have a flexible cognitive facility with the two languages and the meaning dimensions articulated by these two languages may not have the same clarity for children who have not yet mastered Standard English, and who have yet to master the art of translating text into meanings.

* The content of curriculum materials should be re-examined for "cultural relevance". It would seem that the introduction of factual

stories designed to give children information about the West Indies should be revised or examined in terms of the interest that the child expresses in the material. When material is given in the style of a factual account, be it culturally relevant or quite irrelevant it is difficult to feel any involvement with the text. This type of story may be more meaningful to older children who have mastered the art of reading and are now using the skill to explore different subjects.

* The textbooks intended for West Indian children have a higher proportion of information stories than those textbooks that were intended for children in the United Kingdom. The content of the readers might be looked at in terms of relevance and interest for the children in the classroom. Teachers need to ask the question, whether the children respond with interest to the text materials or whether the children are indifferent or bored by the materials presented.

* Teachers and educators should be aware of the biases inherent in language and knowledge presented in the textbooks. These biases and the stereotyping of certain biases should be re-examined in light of current attitudes and values.

* Learning to read is not and should not be entirely mechanical and thus, cannot be divorced from the child's social and emotional development. The material presented in the reading curriculum should be examined in terms of the child's social and emotional development, i.e., Do the materials carry prescriptions for the children and are these prescriptions beneficial for the children in the classroom? Education and curriculum materials should promote human development and a belief in oneself rather than presenting children with images that stunt,

confuse or interrupt development.

Stereotypes or Colonized Images

* It is necessary to recognize that children are being presented with stereotypes or colonized images in their reading materials and that these images are not promoting the development of full human potential.

* The stereotypes of sex roles or gender images and race and ethnic images should be looked at in light of how these images shape attitudes and values for the young person in the classroom. Teachers and educators should be conscious of the images that children are being telegraphed in their reading texts, and where these images have the potential to shape attitudes that are detrimental to the children themselves. Where these stereotypes are seen in texts that are in use at the present time, it is important that teachers intercept and give the children images for growth and encouragement in their development, rather than allow the stereotyped images to have a monopoly in the classroom.

* Textbooks should be written that are deliberately non-sexist and non-racist. Some guidelines that emerged from this study would be:

  * More equal distribution of Character Types as central characters. (At present white males far outnumber any other group).

  * More stories where females and Other ethnic groups are shown as Active Masters, i.e., having a sense of ethics or of things moral, being clever, being active, achievement oriented and ambitious, being creative, using initiative, persisting, being adventurous and curious, earning money,

being brave and resourceful, having a sense of leadership, demonstrating knowledge and skills, being rational or intelligent, free to imagine and invent, having friends, receiving recognition, involved in sporting activities and demonstrating a sense of autonomy or selfhood.

* Characters in the readers need not be shown as always strong or always weak or deferring to others, but presented a truly human, having their periods of ups and downs. All too often strength is characterized by males and weakness by females in a stereotypic fashion.

* Attempts should be made to diffuse the gender bias in children's activities. All too frequently girls are pictured with their dolls, having tea parties, washing doll's clothes, playing hop-scotch, skipping with a rope or playing on swings, and boys are there playing marbles, top spinning, flying kites or playing cricket.

* The illustrations seem to present girls wearing dresses and being pretty, so that they are rarely shown getting soiled in the process of having fun. The fashions of the children in the readers should more reflect the fashions of the children in the classroom. Children in sneakers and jeans were not there in the readers studied.

* The roles of mothers and fathers could be more realistic and less confined to their stereotypes. Adults in contemporary society have diverse fields of interests and occupations that could be presented in the reading texts.

Biographies

* Stories that single out people as representatives of progress or as having historical significance should be less confined to one group in the readers, i.e., White Adult Males.

* Stories could be introduced that lend other perspectives to history or significance so that the children in the class rooms can feel that they have inherited the past and that their ancestors played a part that was important.

* Stories should be written about people who have been made invisible by the biases of historians. Where were the women and members of Other ethnic communities while White men were directing the course of action, fighting battles and discovering new lands. What was life like for the majority of people in times that have gone by, e.g., What was life like for the average African woman who had been transported to the West Indies as a slave? How did these women cope or survive in the past? What was significant for the East Indian Women who came to Trinidad as indentured laborers? How did the different ethnic communities cope with the dominant values that were in conflict with their own traditional values? How did children from different cultures cope with the conflict of belonging to a family located in one tradition and the school house located in another?

* Textbooks should be written which deliberately remove or refashion the gender, ethnic and elitist biases in historical records so that children can feel that history was projected

forward by many people and not just the few who have been considered "great".

Occupations

* Textbooks should be composed that are more in line with trends in the contemporary society.

* Attempts should be made to remove the gender and ethnic biases of the work force in "reader culture".

* Children in the classrooms should be made aware of the opportunities open to them in the labor market. There should be a greater diversity of occupations shown in the readers so that children can be exposed to the world beyond the classroom and begin to imagine occupational roles that they might perform in the future. It is difficult to entertain the idea of being something if one is never offered the idea for consideration.

Illustrations

* Children should be given pictures or images that are drawn from their own world of experience so that they can be engaged as subjects, rather than objects or else completely omitted in the images presented.

* The characters illustrated in the textbooks should resemble the children who are learning to read from them. Children should not be given images that have been slightly modified for them. Illustrators must be committed to the children that are reading the text and make the illustrations conform to the age level and perceptions of the children for whom the

books are being composed.

* Perhaps illustrators could look at the possibility of using photographs to present more natural images that the child can believe as being real.

* Images presented to children must be looked at in terms of the child's interests. Children like bold colors and realistic drawings. Illustrators should be in touch with the images that fascinate children and present images that children are attracted to. Children's fascination with cartoon characters is one example of the simple use of lines and color to convey a universe of meanings.

* Teachers and educators should look at the texts already in use to ascertain whether the illustrations presented there lend or enhance meaning for the children in the classrooms across the nation. Illustrations employed in readers should aid meaning formations rather than distract from or add nothing to the text presented to the young apprentice of literacy.

* Illustrations in the text should be looked at in terms of stereotypes and caricatures along the lines of gender and ethnicity.

* Those textbooks in use should be re-examined in light of the fact that images that may well have been relevant to children in the past may no longer have the same relevance or intensity of meaning for the children in the classroom today. Old fashioned images are outmoded images, along with the attitudes and values that surrounded them.

* Presenting today's children with machines and appliances that were in vogue even one decade ago may well be seen as comic and to present them with cars and machines from still further back in time limits the relevance to the modern child. In some of the readers studied, the cars would be viewed as antiques. Illustrators should present modern images so that the children can participate in the scenes.

Conclusion

It is imperative that the images presented in school curriculum materials are relevant in that they mirror the children themselves and the actions that they engage in on the day to day level. It is not mandatory that the images be exclusively drawn from the local context, but it is important that the images that are presented to the children in the classrooms in Trinidad and Tobago are images that the children can relate to. The materials meted out in the course of reading instruction should be composed for the children so that the process of negotiating the text is enhanced by the meaning dimensions shared by the children and shared with the text. The significance of alienation is divorcing "reading" from the child's experiences and forcing the child to engage in a world that is foreign or simply outside the child's experience. Irrelevant material and material that is stereotyped along the lines of gender and ethnicity is not beyond the grasp of children, but rather, by presenting children with these images and forcing them to entertain these images in the course of reading instruction is to subject children to these images. It is important that curriculum materials be composed that enhance not only the ability to read, but also enhance human values and the child's psychological and social development.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The history of Education in Trinidad and Tobago has been one of importing curriculum materials, plus a long list of criticisms of "cultural irrelevance" in the use of these imported packages in the classrooms across the nation. In essence, instead of placing the child in his or her own tradition, and providing each person with a sense of "belonging" to that culture, the child has been forged into an English mold, or as Christopher Searle (1972) indicates, the child assumes a false identity, an English identity. In this process of alienating the child from the local context or culture, the process of education is not facilitated, but is actually hampered by the conflict imposed by using a foreign standard for thought and action. Similarly, this imported thought does not promote a feeling of sharing a common literary identity, located inside one's own world and people, but rather promotes a symbolic colonialism, where the standards set are imposed from abroad, along with the knowledge that is thought to be "best" or "most valuable". This dialogue between the Center Nation and the Periphery Nation conforms to the notions of dependency theories, as the pattern of relation encourages a certain paternalism, with a corresponding dependency of the recipient of "education", which need not be the case if responsibility for selecting and generating curriculum materials was a home based enterprize, rather than an external or foreign "monopoly". It would appear that the symbiotic relationship that existed between the "mother" country and the "colony", continues in a modified form and needs to be examined in light of the needs of the children for whom education is supposed to serve. (It would seem that the children are there to be educated, rather than education being there for the children.)

To continue to write criticisms using mild terms, like "cultural irrelevance" is not enough, as these terms do not seem to connote the oppressive nature of "irrelevant" material. These terms fail to convey the psychological impact of throwing children into two cultures, where one is devalued (the local culture) and one is injected with prestige, class distinction, "universality" and superiority (the foreign culture). The direction of human development should not be one of adopting a culture, and then trying to fit the prescriptions or stereotypes of that culture, as that implies that one reject one's own cultural identity, one's own language and all the symbols that locate the person in the local context. For too long, the concept of anything that comes from "away" is better or "superior" in quality has subjected the local population to a mark of "inferiority". The classroom is one scene where the child encounters the conflict or clash of cultures, and in the classroom, the values assigned to the imported culture are by far the greater. Carrington (1979) comments that:

> ...the conflicts of the Caribbean classroom are not the result of the educative process ...(per se)... although they are expressed in it. They are born of the sets of values which are endemic in the society and therefore can only be changed by a massive shift of social consciousness.
> (Carrington, 1979, p.27)

Thus, while readers used in the Trinidad and Tobago classrooms continue to present images that are foreign and alienating, and on top of all that, images that actually oppress the child through presenting stereotyped (or colonized) pictures of action, temperament, and levels of success along ethnic and gender lines, there is little hope of reversing the trend that has become another tradition in the Trinidad and Tobago context. If the curriculum packages appear to be "unreal" or "incredible" in that there appears to be little resemblance between the subjects and characters in the readers and the subjects and characters located there in the classrooms, then it is reasonable to assume that the cycle is either completed by 1) the child feeling that education is not _for_ him or _for_ her, and thus never fully engage or seriously contemplate possibilities of using education as a vehicle of growth and awareness of self (for that would require a miracle of no small proportion) or 2) the child may enter the discourse and complete the cycle by taking education seriously at the expense of rejecting that same evaluation of self and local identity.

By heaping stereotypes into the curriculum packages, the child does not gain, either in reading fluency or proficiency, and at the same time, these images distort reality and limit the process of imagining. Critics in North America are calling for publishers and authors to "liberate" the children in the readers, so that the children who read them can begin, not only to believe in the words that they read, but they might also begin to believe in "themselves". Readers that take the children seriously, instead of dishing out stereotypes of "children culture" or "little folk", in middle class families, luxurious homes, mother always engulfed (gleefully) in domestic concerns, father always dressed to exit, or waving from outside as he rushes off to work, and the children are waving back and smiling too. In most instances, the children are completely dependent on adults, they rarely do anything but play, receive gifts, go to school and eat. Very seldom do we see a child who has responsibilities of his or her own, and children only seem to cry or grow forlorn when it rains and they cannot go outside to play, or else when they have an accident while at play. We are not presented with children who have sick relatives, or children who have cows to graze (rather than a pet dog or kitten to play with), nor are children given images of responsibility for themselves. There are many children who do not live in nuclear families, and there are an enormous number of single parents, children living in institutions and children who are poor because parenting ones are not able to provide for comfort and luxuries as well as sustenance. Readers need not only throw out pictures of "ideals", or even good likenesses of "reality", they might also encourage human values, so that the child embraces his or her identity, and the society that buttresses that identity. Mr. Haynes in C.L.R.James' Minty Alley need not be the model of the product of education today, where the educated person reads many books and stuffs countless irrelevancies into the brain, and "rises" beyond childhood friends and beyond involvement or caring. The educated person does not have to "model prestige" by continually looking down and never back. And because the alienated person is one who wants to assume another identity, the violence of rejecting others is mirrored in the rejection of self (which is a theme in the readers where animals assume the identity of other creatures and end up having no friends and belonging to no group at all). Taking on external trappings of another group, parading a cargo of "culture", and signalling success and prestige is intricately related to the acceptance of inequality in society, and these efforts are aimed at forging the image of the "colonizer" and looking down on "others".

It appears as though education has been instrumental in shaping compliance and perpetuating the status quo in colonial society and beyond "independence" to neo-colonialism. As Walcott suggested in the poem, Lines of New England, the system of power relations was not altered by the introduction of schooling to lower class children of the West Indies, as the policy makers were from the planter class. Education was not for structural awareness or critical thinking, but rather for "domestication" and loyalty to traditional values. Education has been important in shaping thoughts and attitudes that promote apathy and label the co-operation and conformity to dominant values as peace and harmony. The tools of social change or what Friere (1970) refers to as conscientization are not taught in schools. Education that is for recapitulating traditional values and promoting those values unchanged in the West Indian context is to continue the process of colonization and alienation by strengthening the line from England or from the North Atlantic. Such a situation imports "culture" and promotes the notion of dependency or that of a Periphery nation in relation to the developed countries or Center nations who export to the Periphery nations.

Although it is apt to suggest and indeed true to do so, that the values in the schools and in the readers are deeply entrenched in the prevailing norms of society, it is also true that the school is responsible for socializing as well as educating the child for an enormous amount of time, and requiring a tremendous expenditure of the child's energies. The school is one location where change can be effected, as its very business is propaganda or propagandizing those values deemed legitimate for children's consumption in society. The fact remains, however, that children do not live in the school houses, but in the world beyond the classroom, and that world is not nearly so pretty or luxurious, nor so cheerful and remote as the world presented to the child in the curriculum materials for Reading. Readers that embrace the child might be those that embrace the child's world and the way that child dialogues with his or her world. If reality must be distorted in the process of compiling textbooks, would it be all that awful if that reality created encouraged children to think about being more egalitarian, more thoughtful to others, more hopeful about themselves and their future, to pamper pride and self esteem within the local cultural context, or to consider careers outside of traditional models, or consider roles and life styles as open and creative rather than fixed and locked into nature.

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INSERT

The material contained on pages 327 to 398 of this thesis may include previously copyrighted illustrations from the readers used in the study and thus, relevant information has been supplied to enable interested readers to consult the illustrations in the textbooks themselves.

APPENDIX A.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 1: NELSON'S ROYAL READER

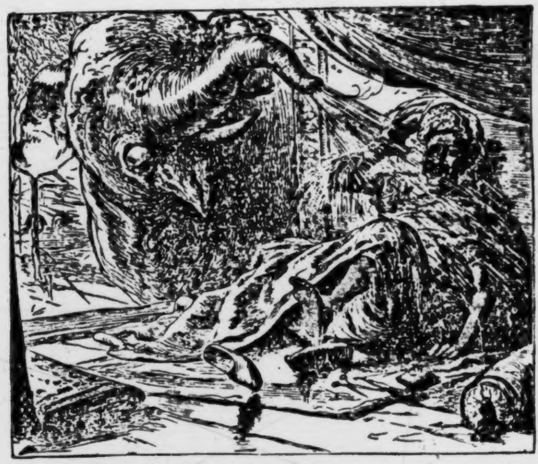
APPENDIX A.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 1: NELSON'S ROYAL READER

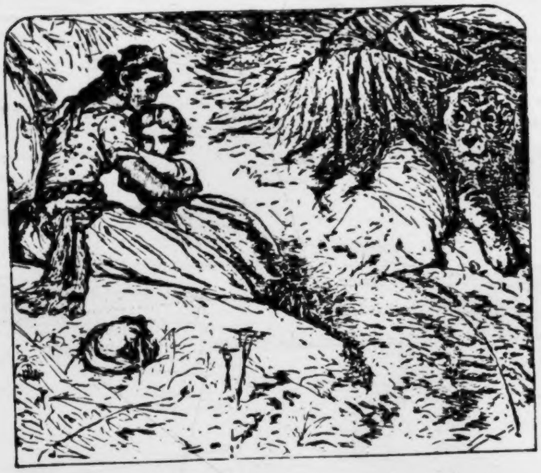
Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
327	1	173
	2	76
	3	166
	4	29
	5	87
328	6	131
	7	97
	8	79
	9	121
329	10	115
	11	37
	12	13
	13	67

1



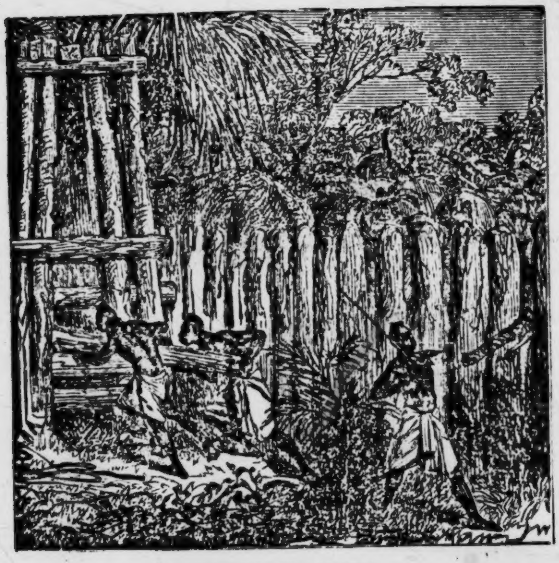
STORIES OF THE ELEPHANT.

2



The English Girl and her Ayah.

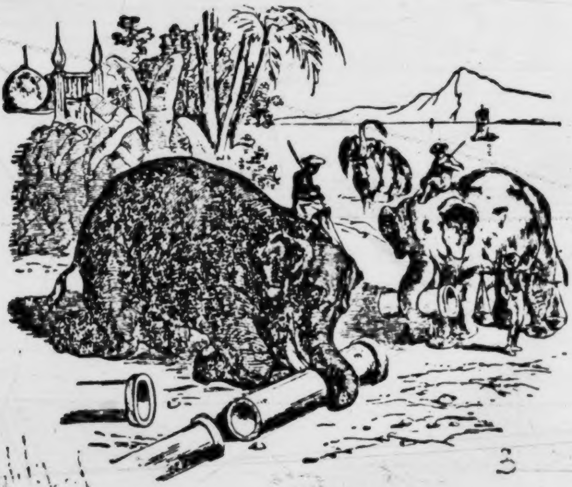
3



ELEPHANTS IN A CORRAL

CATCHING WILD ELEPHANTS IN CEYLON.

4



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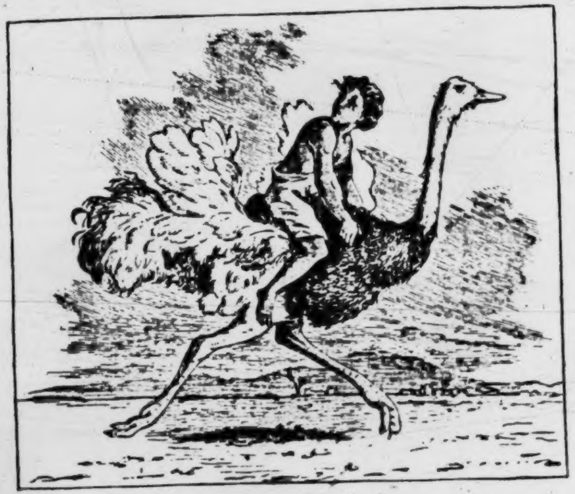
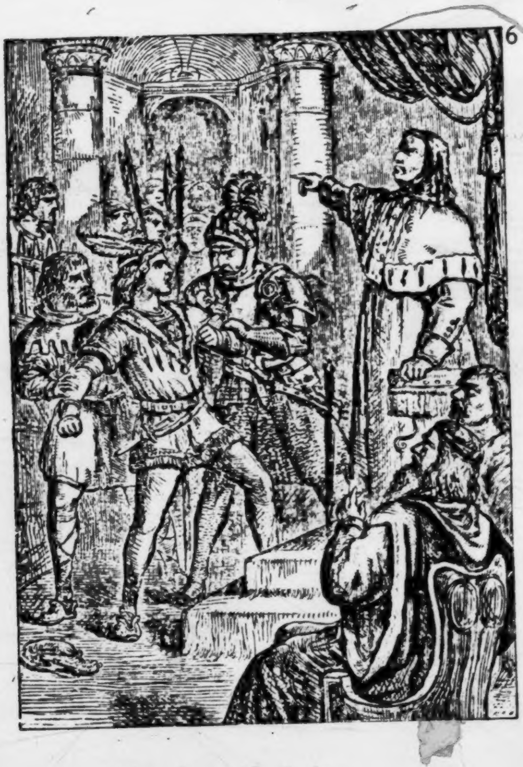


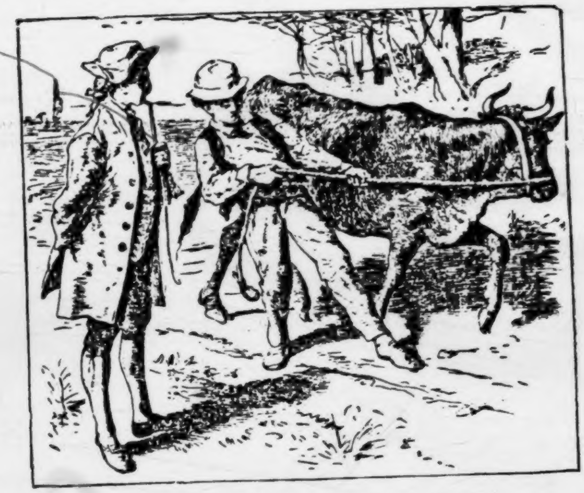
Black Images in The Royal Reader.

6



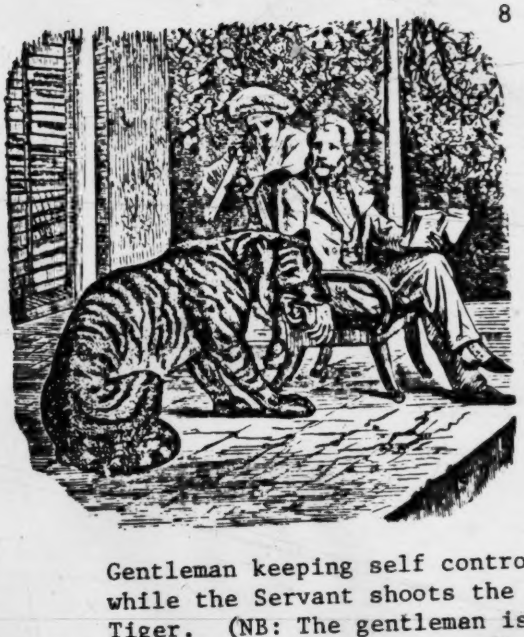
The 'Good' Judge
and the Prince.

7



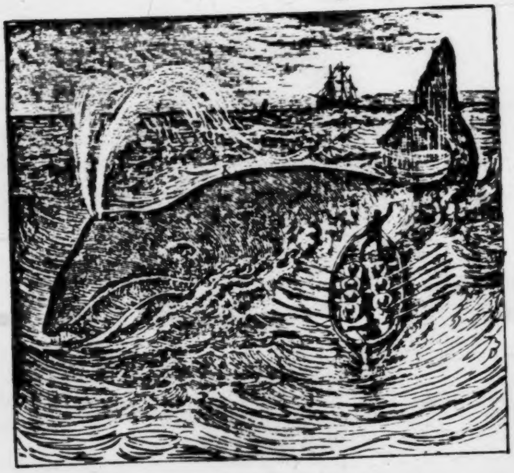
THE DUKE AND THE COW-BOY.

8



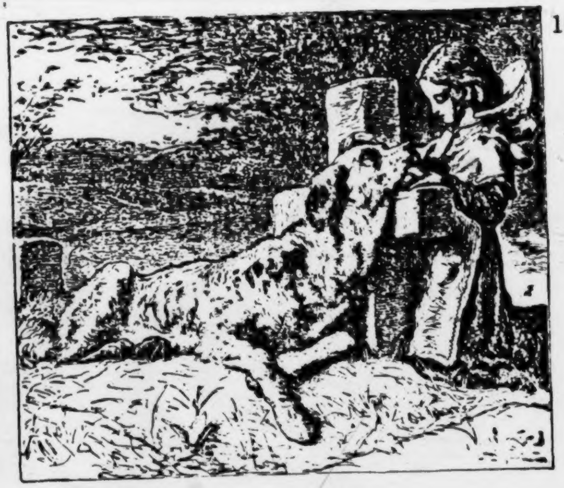
Gentleman keeping self control
while the Servant shoots the
Tiger. (NB: The gentleman is
'sitting outside his 'tent')

9



Whale Hunting.

10



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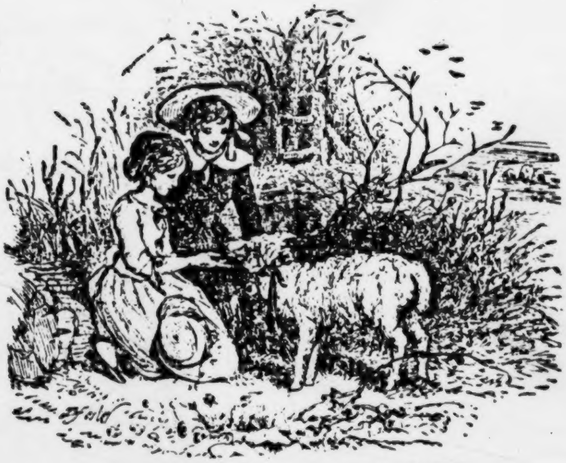
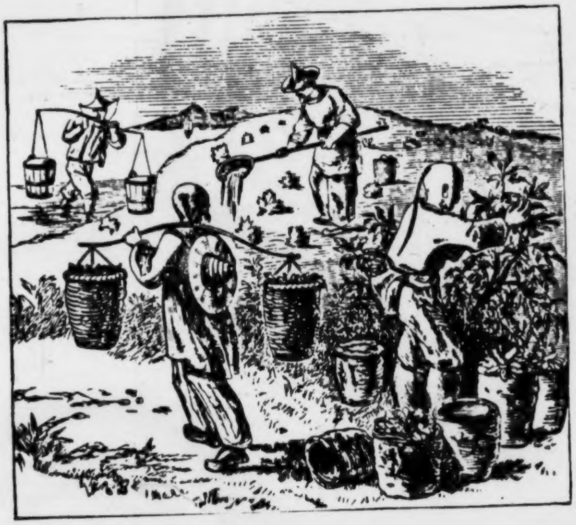


THE SALE OF THE PET LAMB.

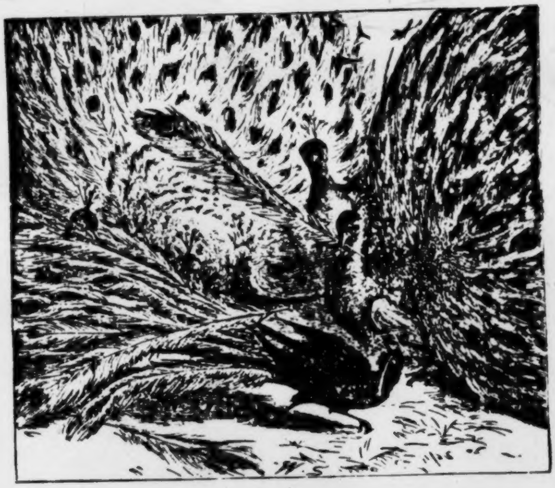
Images of girls in Reader 1: Nelson's Royal.

12



Picture of Chinese
Tea Farmers.

13



(False Identity)
The Black Daw being Attacked by
Peacocks.

APPENDIX B.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 2: NELSON'S NEW ROYAL READER.

APPENDIX B.

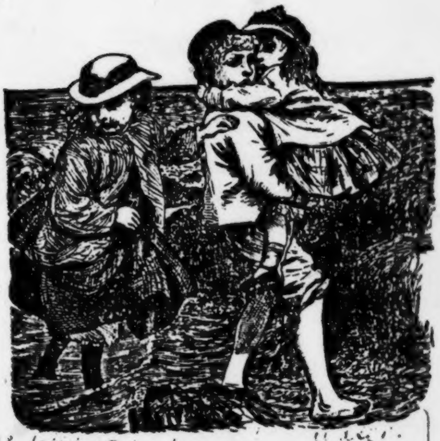
ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 2: NELSON'S NEW ROYAL READER.

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
331	14	78
	15	75
	16	26
	17	41
	18	79
332	19	53
	20	89
	21	12
	22	46
	23	21
	24	10

14

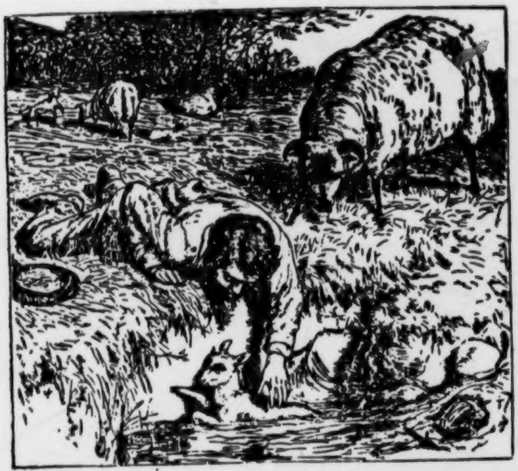
ON THE SHORE.



ON THE SHORE.

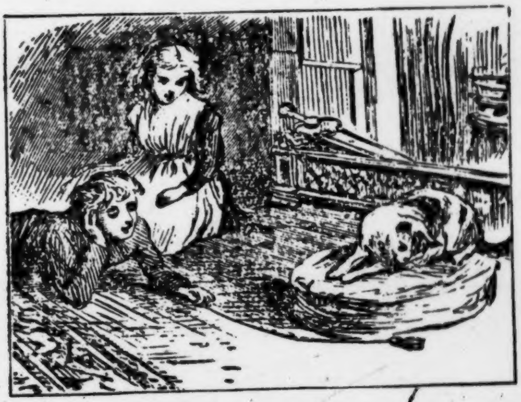
Boys to the 'rescue'

15



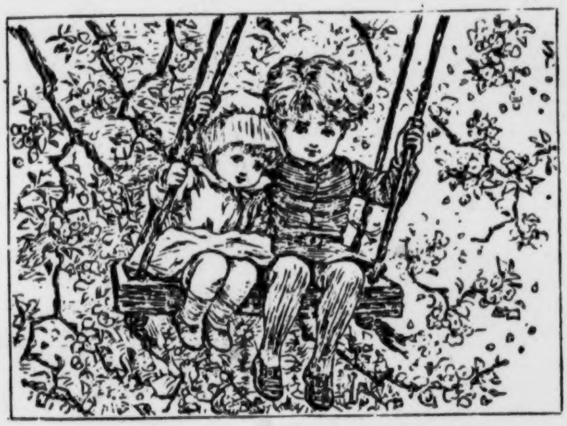
STORY OF THE SHEEP AND THE LAMB.

16



A GAME WITH PUSS.

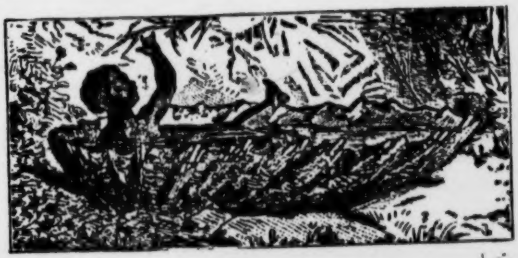
17



THE GARDEN SWING.

Brothers and Sisters.

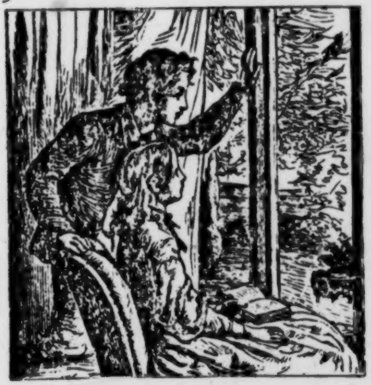
18



A GIANT SHELL.

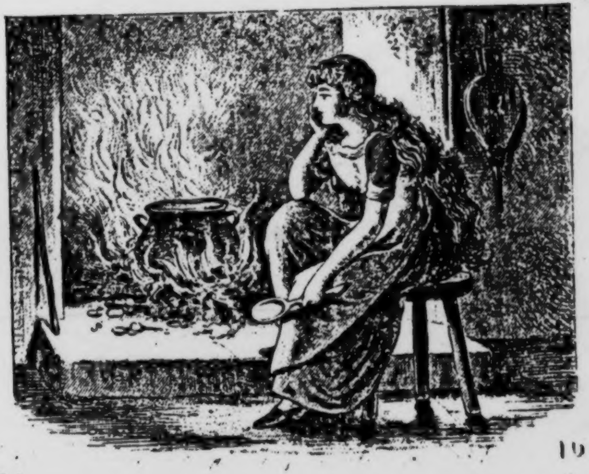
The One Black Image in the New Royal Reader.

19



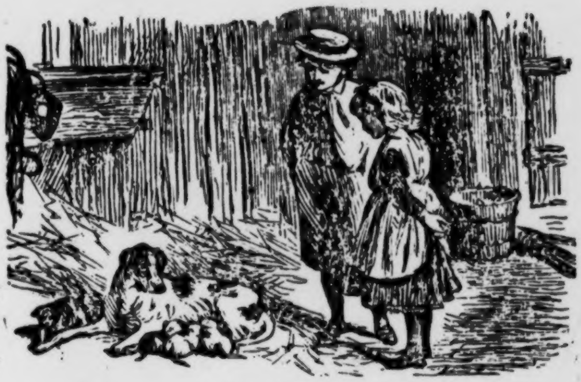
Brothers and Sisters

2o



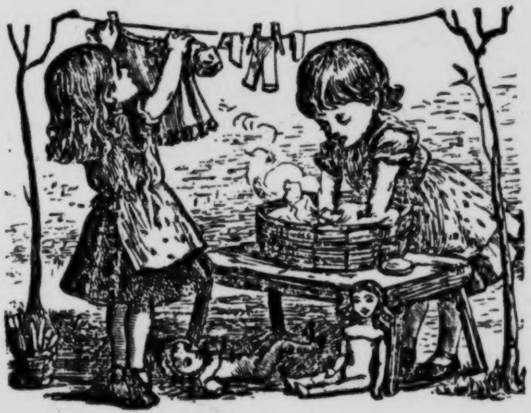
CINDERELLA AND THE GLASS SLIPPER.—I.

21



Female Activities: Domestic.

22



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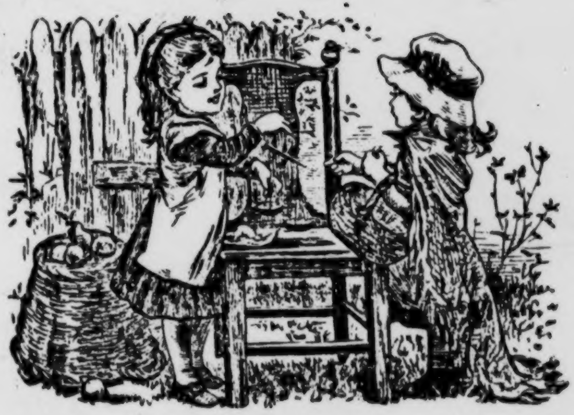
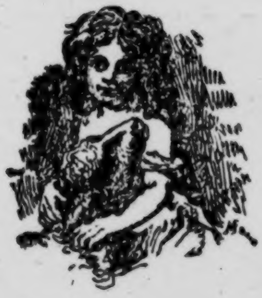


Creative Play: Shopkeepers.

Lily and Her Pet Lamb

24



APPENDIX C.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 3: NELSON'S WEST INDIAN READERS

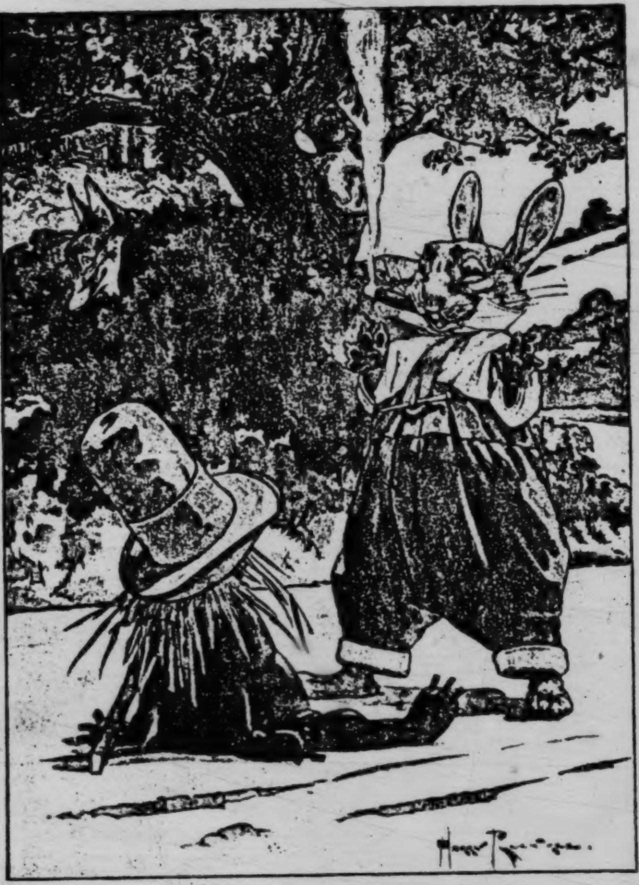
APPENDIX C.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 3: NELSON'S WEST INDIAN READERS

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
334	25	ii I
	26	121 I
	27	164 II
335	28	27 I
	29	21 III
	30	83 III
	31	72 II
	32	55 I
	33	70 I
336	34	33 I
	35	37 I
	36	20 II
	37	140 III
	38	141 III
337	39	128 I
	40	22 II
	41	129 I
	42	127 I
	43	46 II
	44	75 II
338	45	58 I
	46	142 II

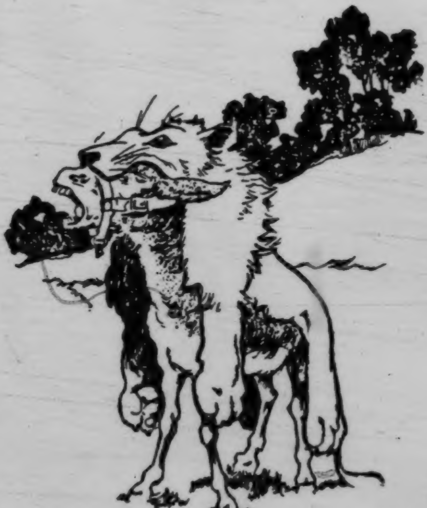
25



BRER RABBIT MEETS THE TAR BABY.

(See page 130.)

26



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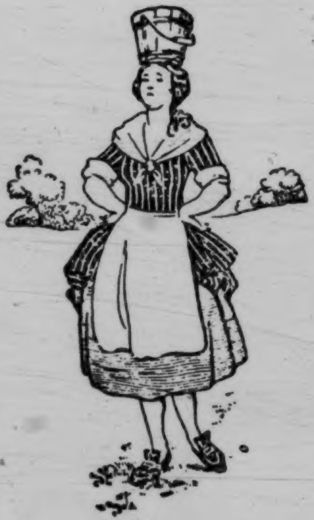
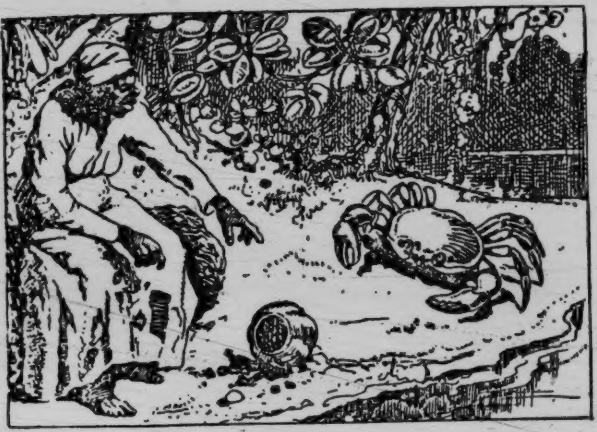


False Identity: Donkey dressed
lion..and whipped by his 'Master'

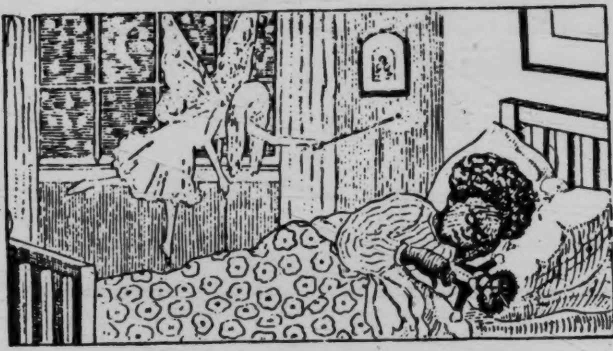
The Milk Maid who aspires
to be wealthy and aristocratic.

28



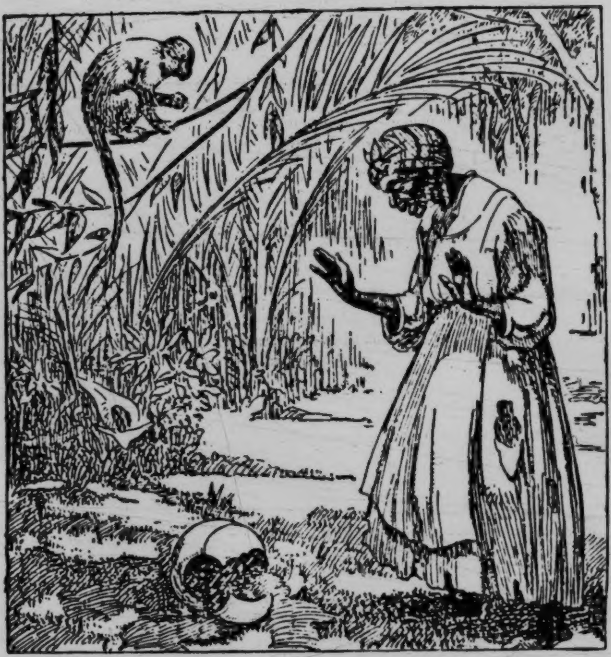
The Ugly old fairy.

29



Black Images in Reader 3.

30

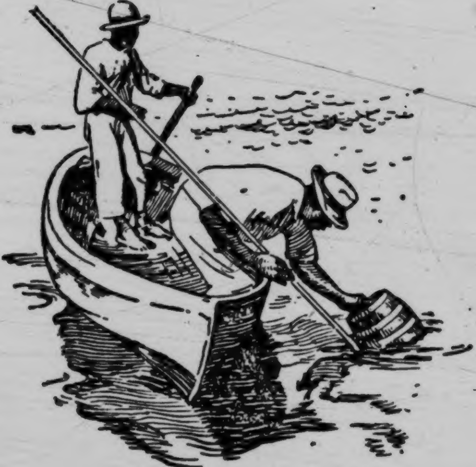


The Corncake Vender.

33

BREAKING THE COCOA

31



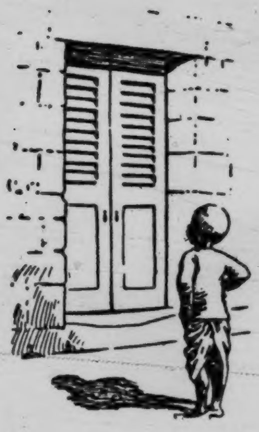
SPONGE-FISHERS AT WORK.

32

GRADING COCONUTS

34

illustration from
the poem:
'The Naughty Boy'



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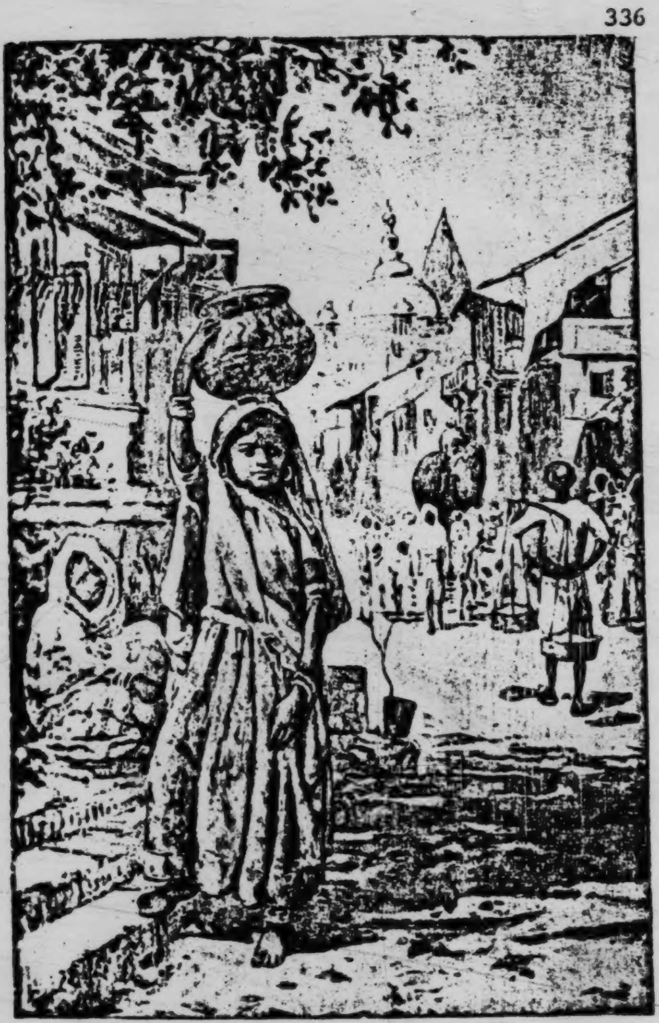
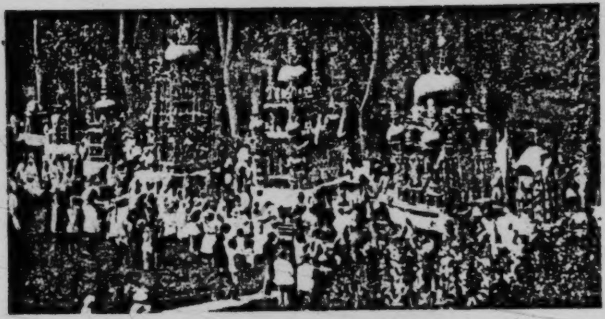


A STREET IN INDIA.

36

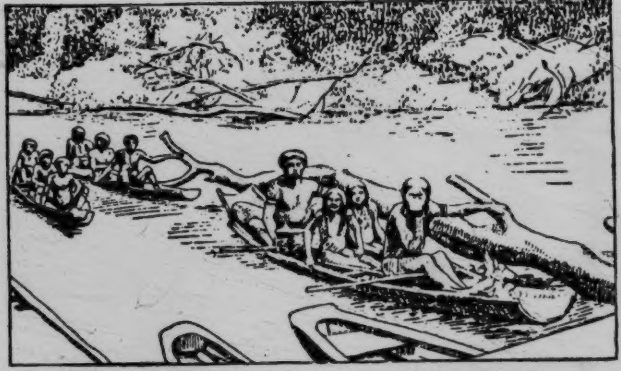


INDIAN HOSE PROCESSION.

Images of East Indians.

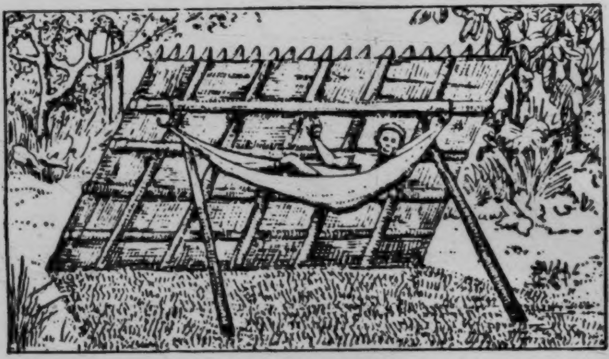
Images of the Caribs.

37



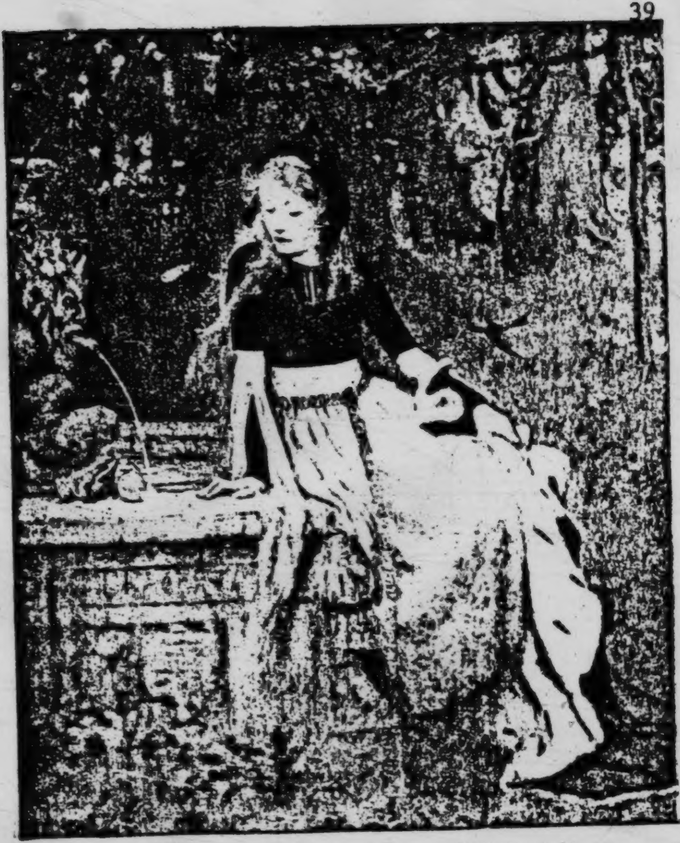
Carib Canoes.

38



Carib Hammock.

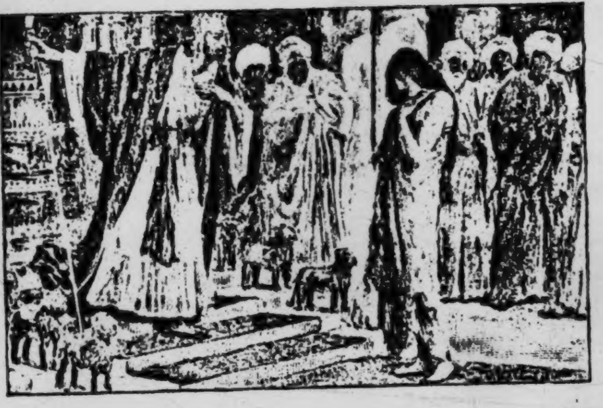
39



THE PRINCESS AND THE FROG (*W. R. Symonds*).

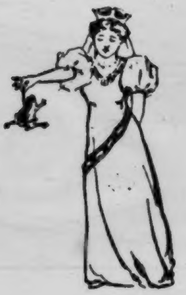
(By permission of the Trustees of the Cartwright Memorial Hall, Bradford, the owners of the copyright.)

40



The beautiful peasant for the King.

41



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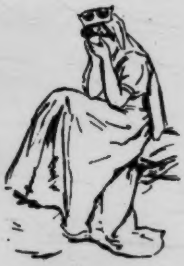
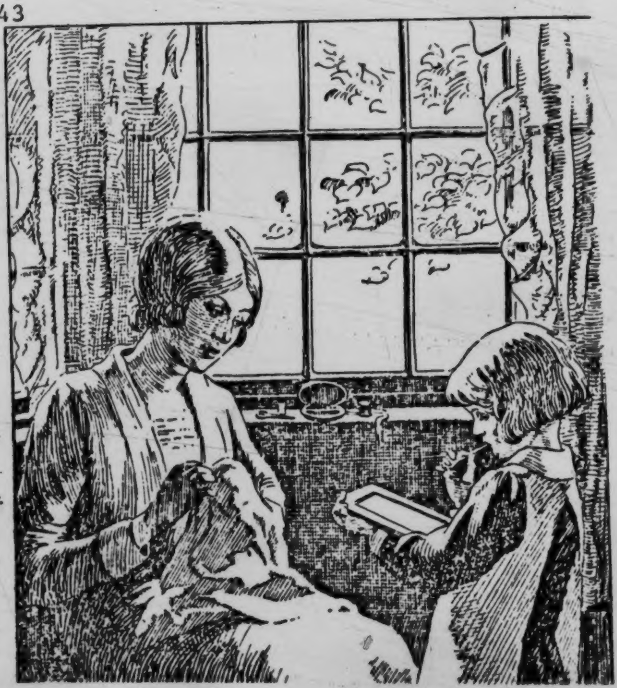


Feminine wiles.

43



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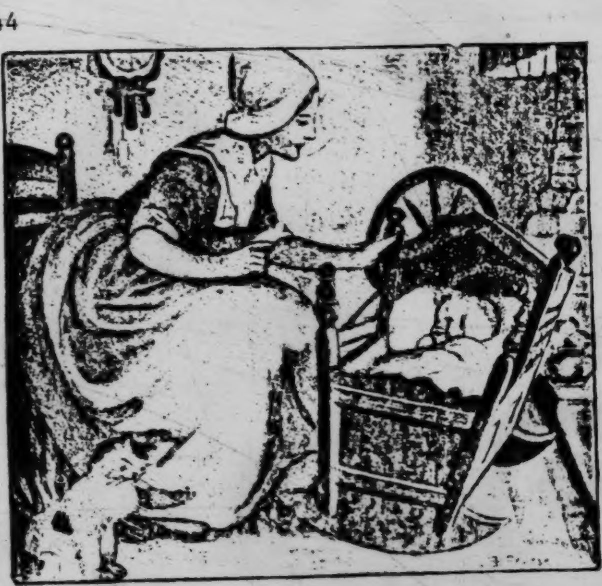
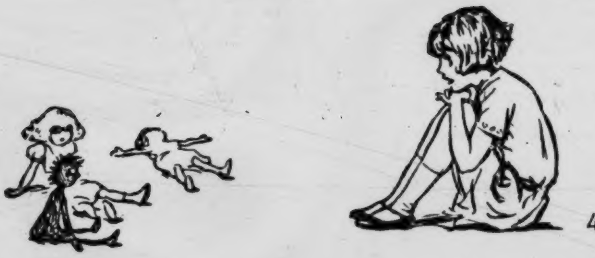


Images of Female Adults.

APPENDIX C (Continued)

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
338	47	56 I
339	48	127 III
	49	82 II
340	50	106 II
	51	107 II
	52	110 II
341	53	65 III
	54	189 III
	55	173 III
	56	105 III

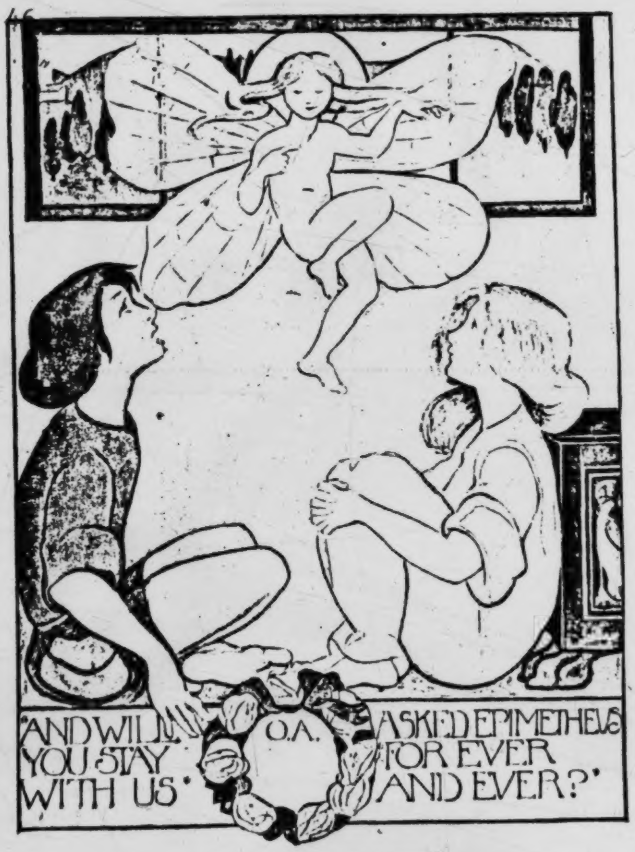
45



Girls and their dolls.

46

Illustration from 'Pandora's Box'

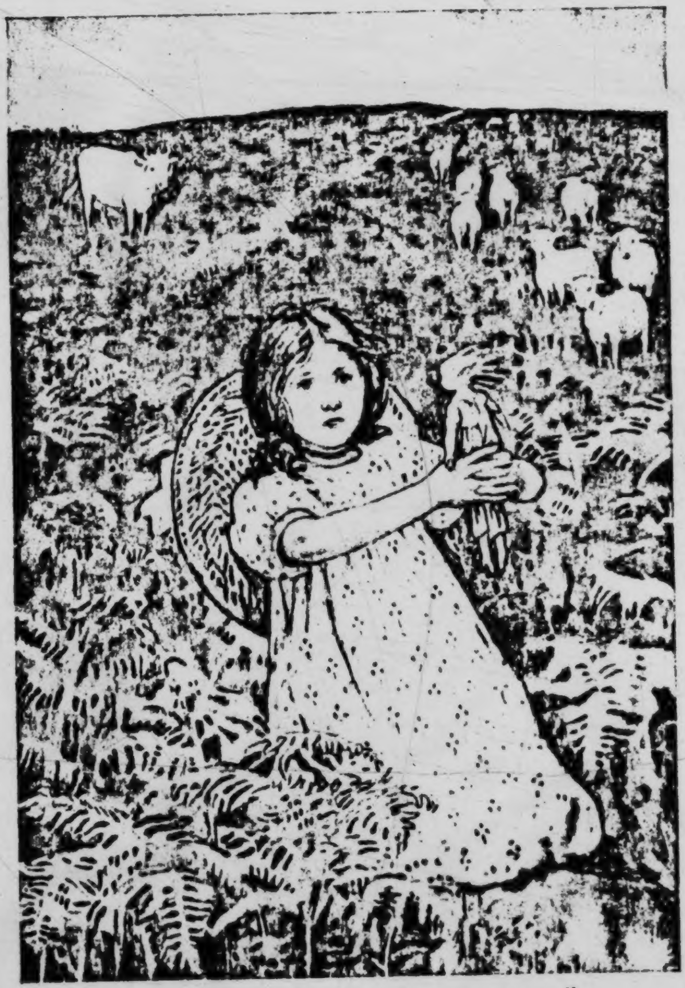

"AND WILL YOU STAY WITH US" ASKED EPIMETHEUS "FOR EVER AND EVER?"
O.A.

"I AM CALLED HOPE."

(*Page 141.*)

NB: Hope is blonde and fair.. and always cheerful.

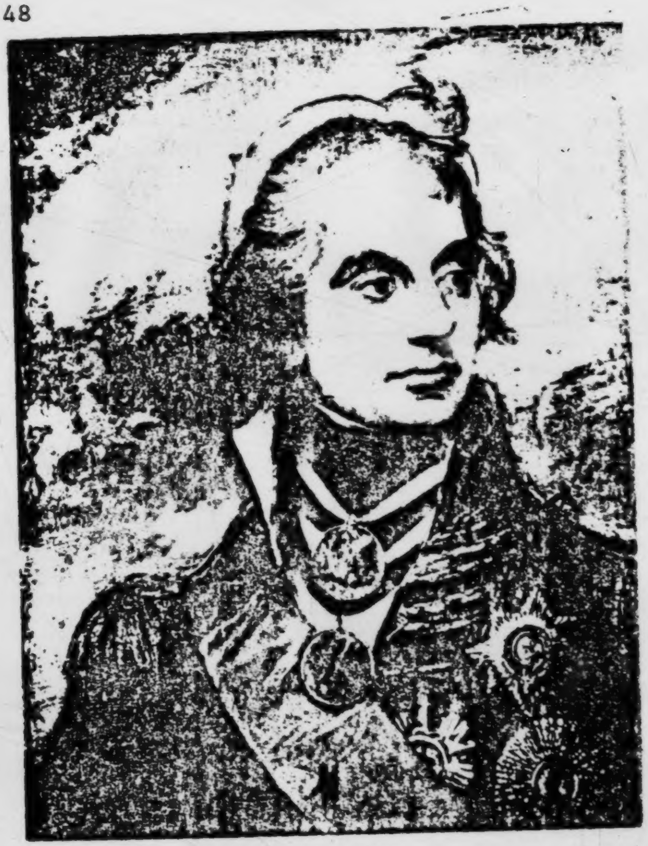
47



"I FOUND MY POOR LITTLE DOLL, DEARS."

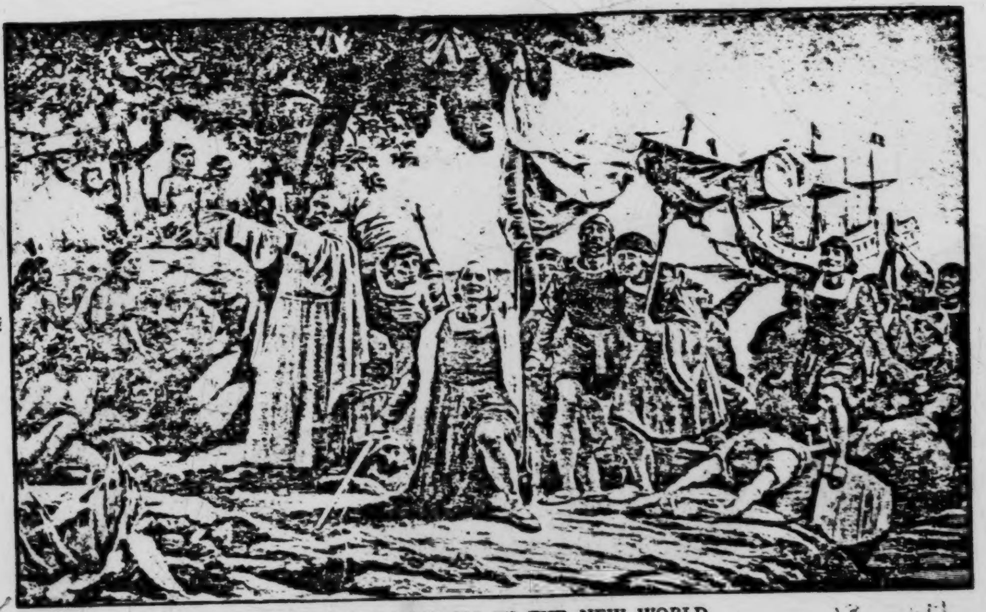
56

48



LORD NELSON.

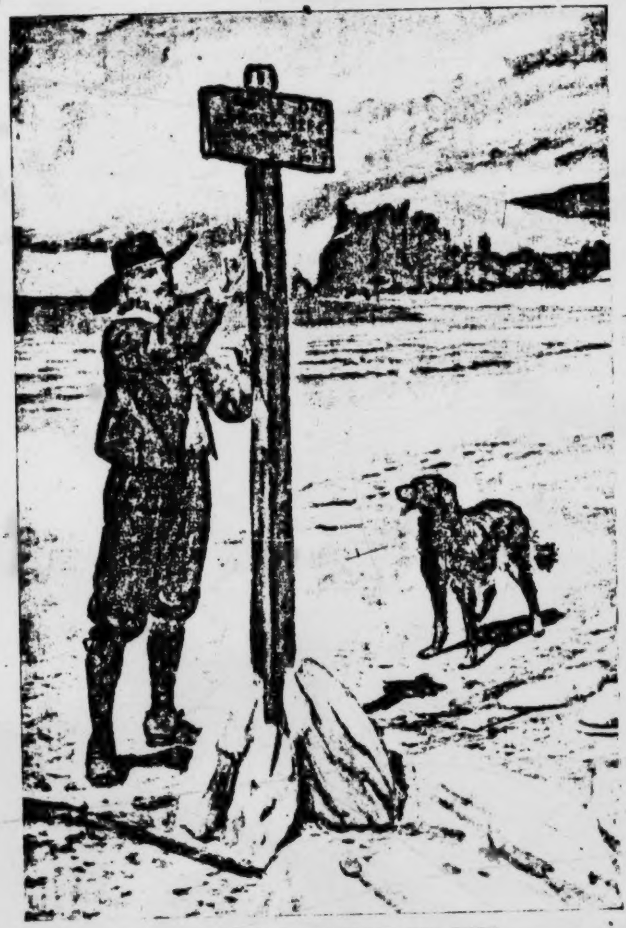
49



COLUMPUS LANDING IN THE NEW WORLD

(From the picture by Puebla.)

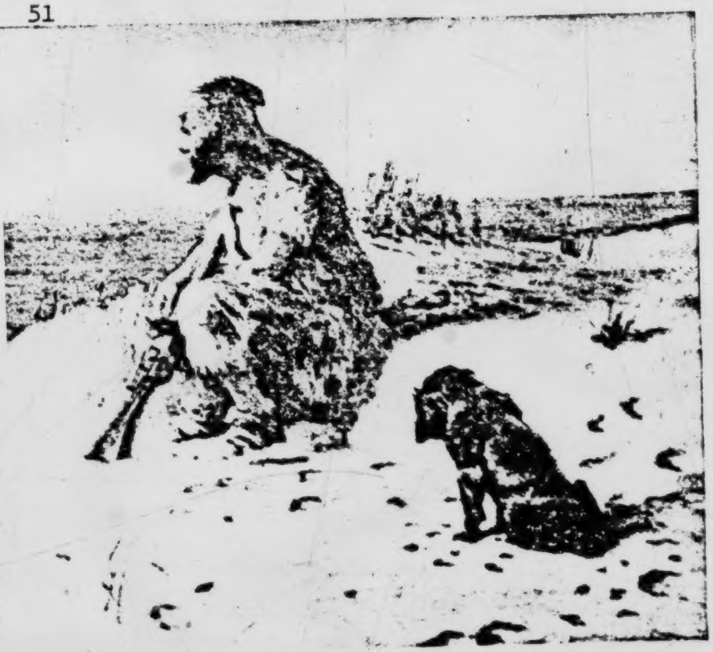
50



ROBINSON CRUSOE MARKING HIS POST.

(See page 106.)

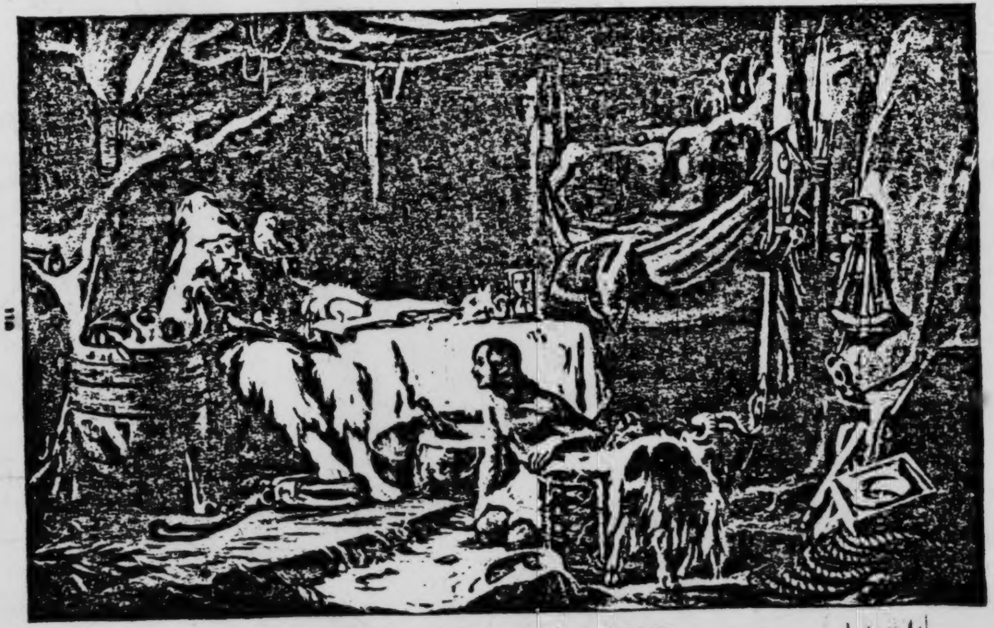
51



CRUSOE.

From the picture by J. C. Dollman, A.R.W.S. (By permission of the artist.)

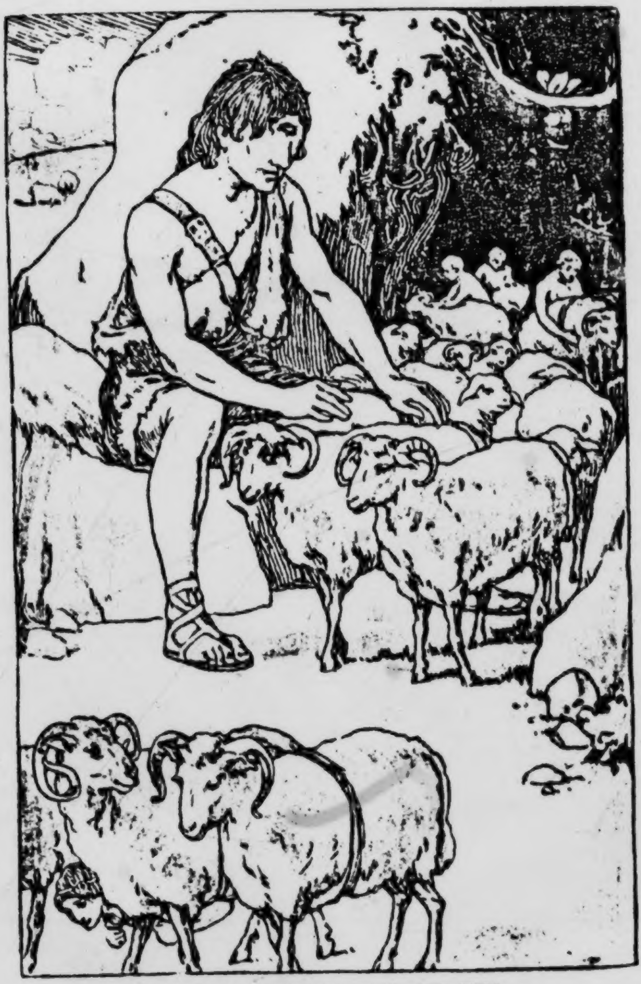
52



ROBINSON CRUSOE IN HIS CAVE.

(Alexander Fraser, A.R.S.A.)

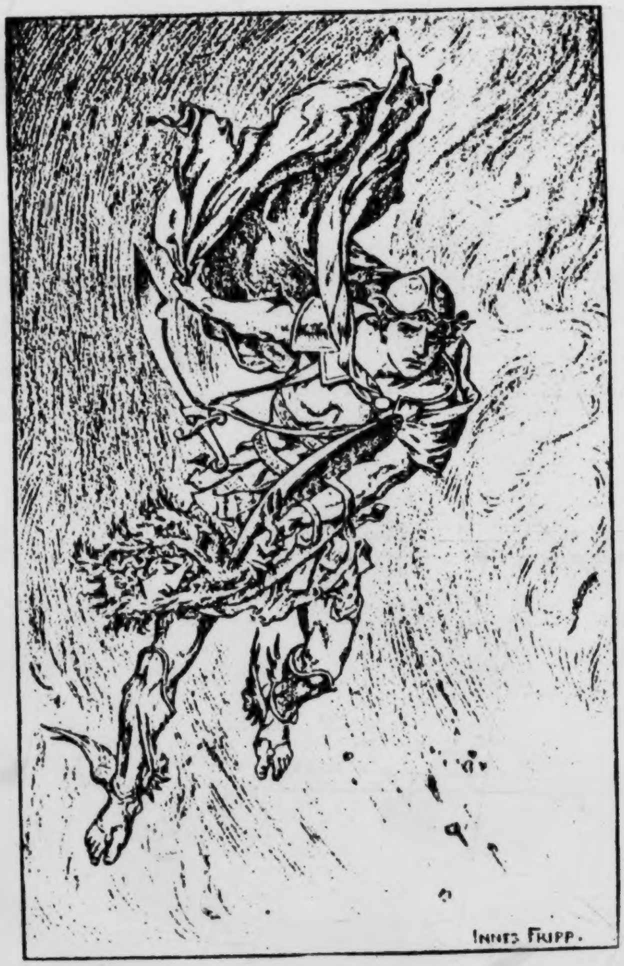
53



ESCAPE OF ODYSSEUS AND HIS MEN.

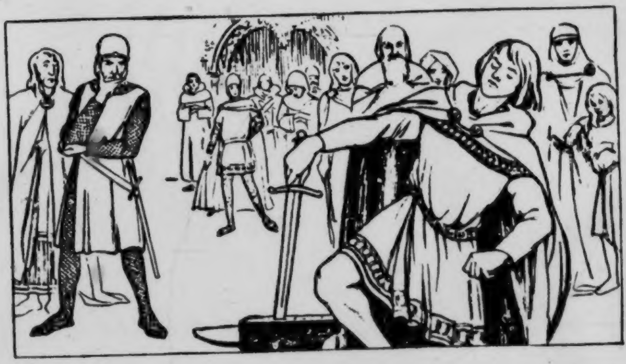
60

54


INNES FRIPP.

Images of Men in Ancient Myths,
or Folk Tales.

55



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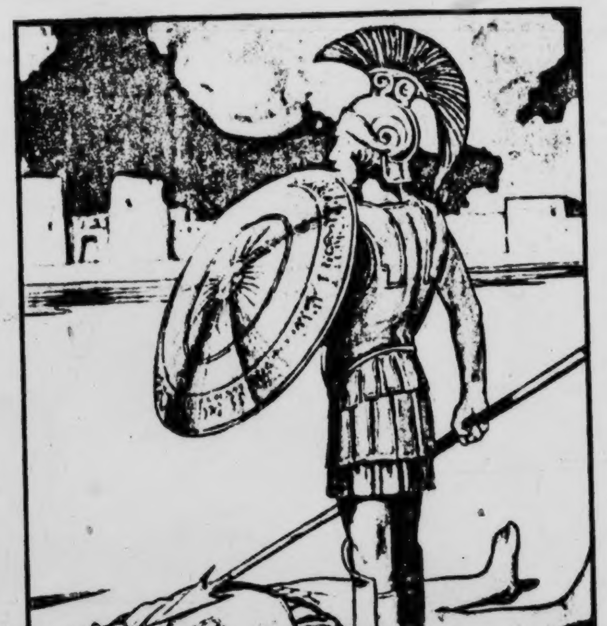

HEATH-ROBINSON

THE DEATH OF HECTOR

APPENDIX D.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 4: GINN'S CARIBBEAN READERS.

APPENDIX D.

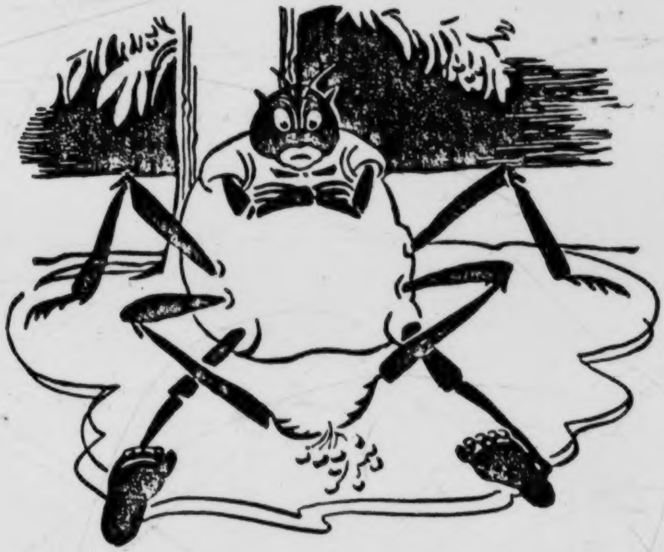
ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 4: GINN'S CARIBBEAN READERS.

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
343	57	29 I, 79 I
	58	27 I
	59	14 II
	60	149 II
	61	150 II
344	62	80 III
	63	143 III
345	64	156 III
	65	152 III
	66	115 III
346	67	115 II
	68	7 I
	69	49 III
	70	80 II
	71	48 III
	72	54 III
	73	69 I
	74	49 I
347	75	55 III
	76	16 III
	77	20 III
	78	31 III

57

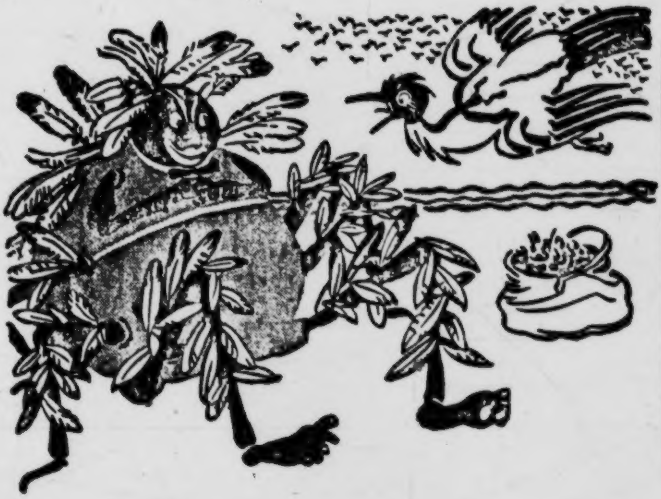
Images of Annancy.

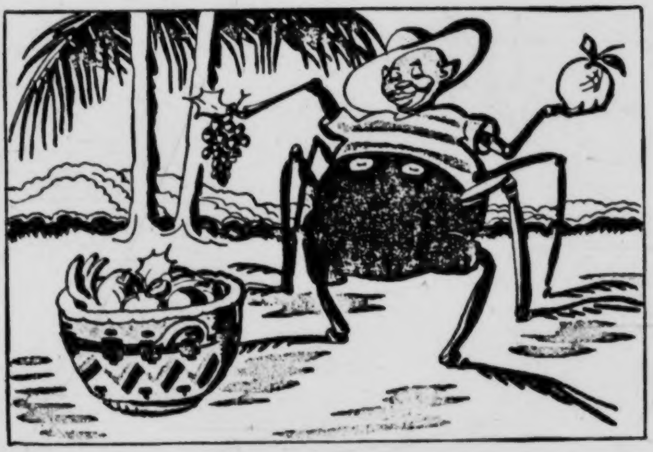


29

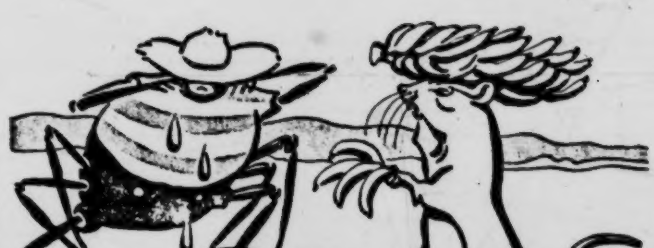
58

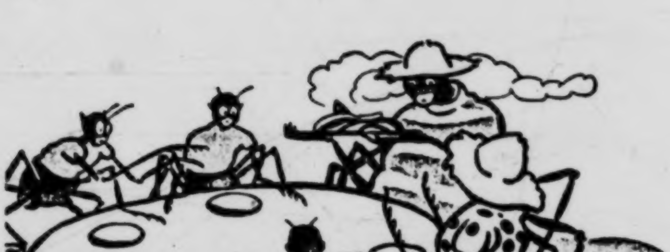
58 59



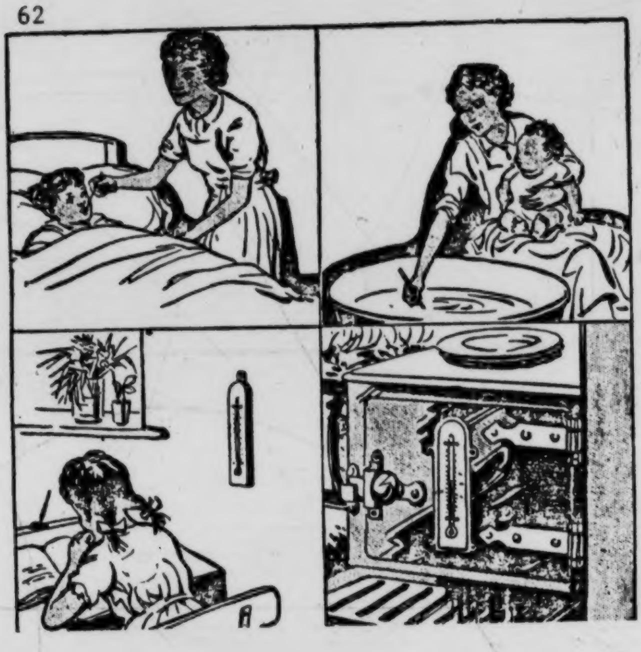


60 61



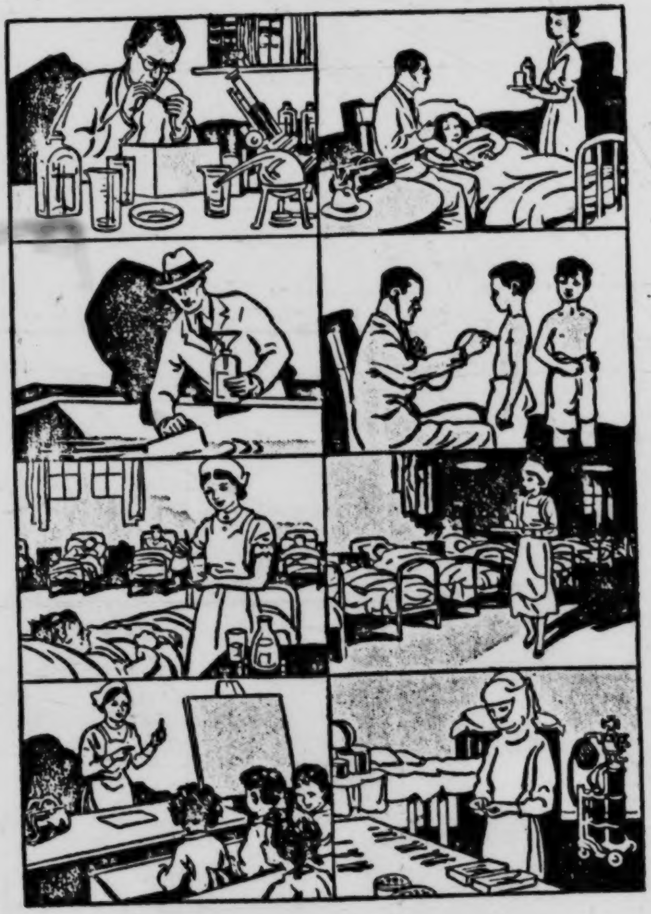


62



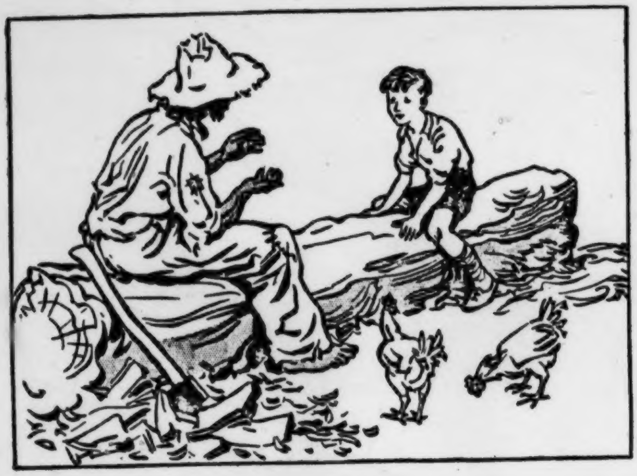
Mother as Nurturant.

63



Doctors, Scientists &
Nurses.

64

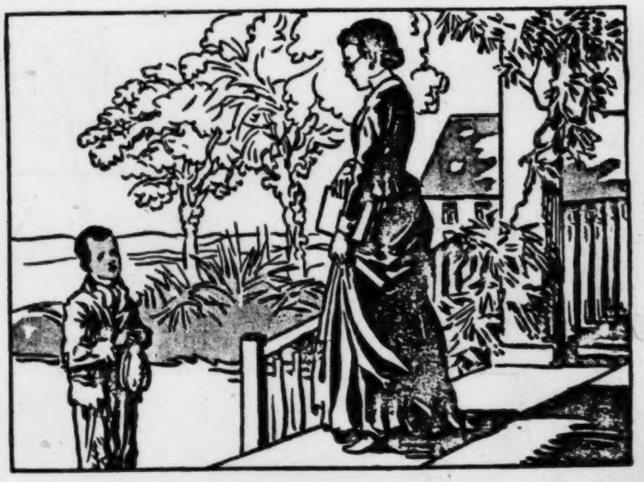


The little Rabbits and Brer Fox

Uncle Remus (Slave) and his Mistress's Son, who listens to Brer Rabbit Stories.

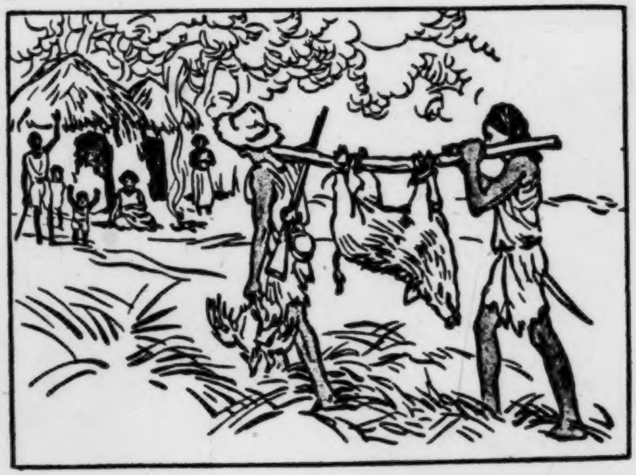
Booker T. Washington, and the School Mistress who issues the 'strange exam'

65



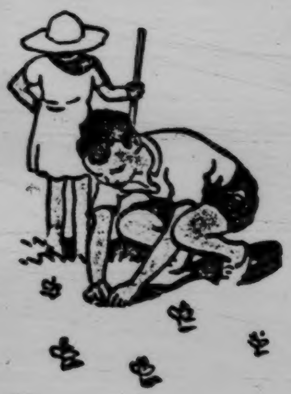
Part Two. The strange Examination

66



The Maroons

Image of the Maroons in Jamaica.



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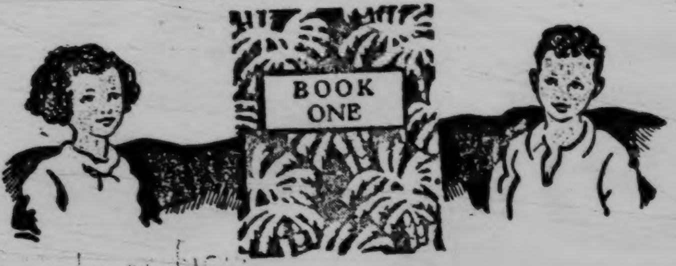
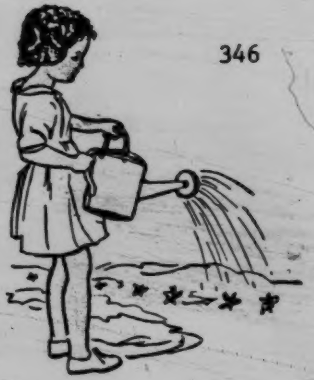


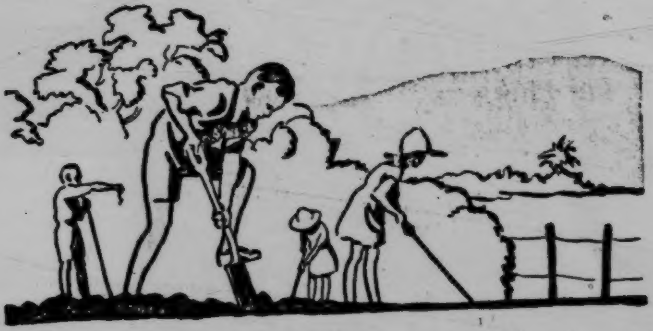
68

Who are you?

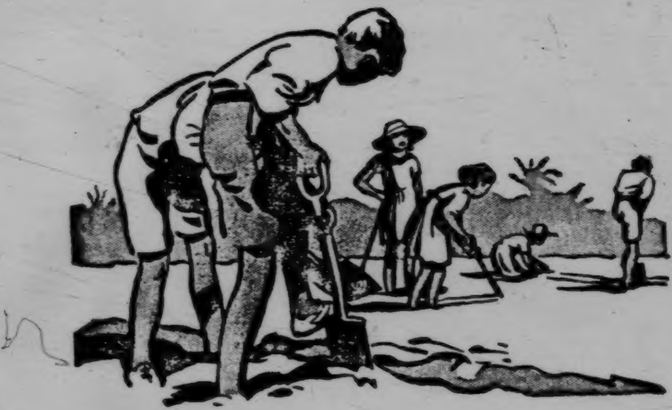


69

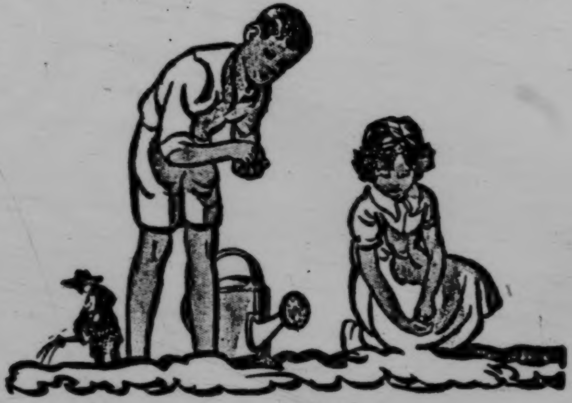
70



71

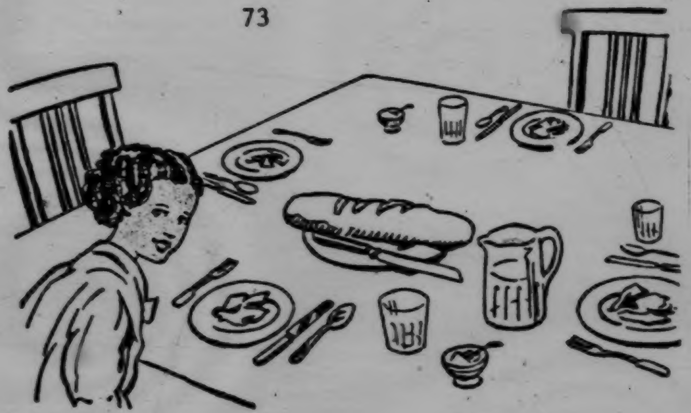


72



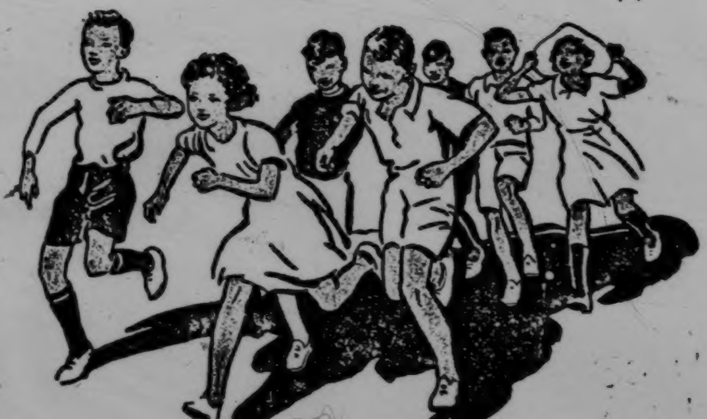
Planting Seeds

73



At Home.

74

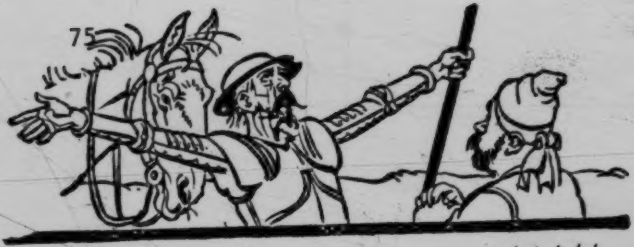


What do our Bodies say?

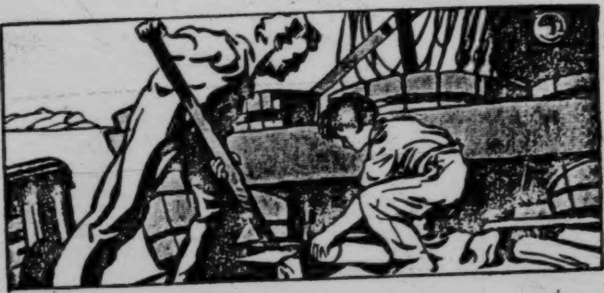
APPENDIX D. (Continued)

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
347	79	88 I
	80	32 I
	81	21 III
	82	116 I
348	83	44 I
	84	6 I
	85	84 III
	86	84 III
	87	52-3 I
	88	60 II
	89	66 II
	90	59 II
349	91	146-7 II
	92	98-9 III

75

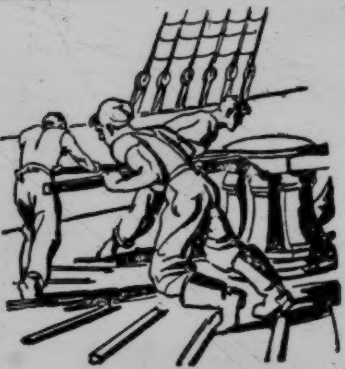


Don Quixote &
Sancho.



Escape from the Wreck

76

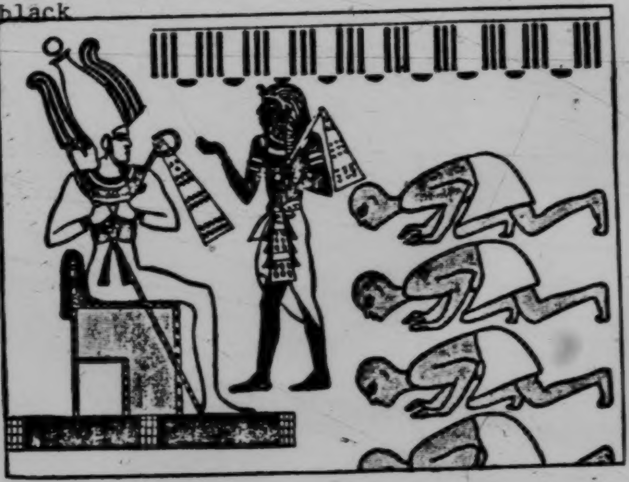


'Men' at Work.

77

Egyptian King is white and the Slave is black

78



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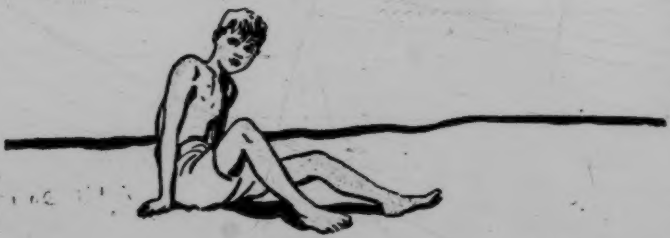
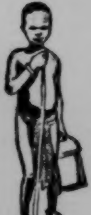
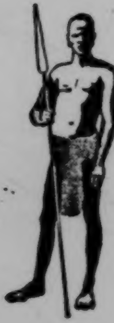


In India

80





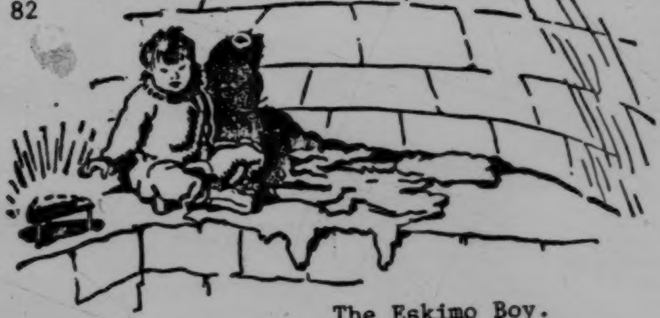
Bombo and his Father
from Africa.

81

E.N.A.

Ahmad
A Boy whose Life depends on a River

82



The Eskimo Boy.

83

Christopher Columbus

84

Christopher Columbus.

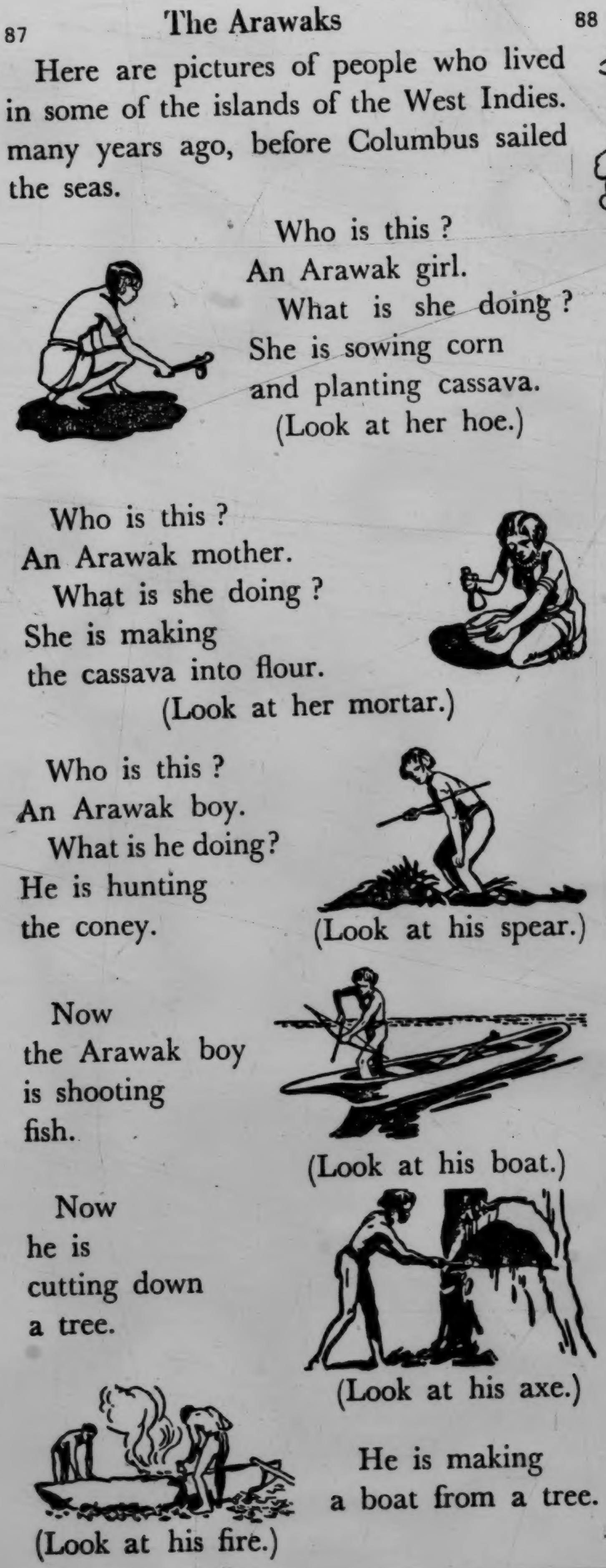
85

Sir Henry Morgan.

86

The Buccaneers at Port Royal.

87



The Arawaks

Here are pictures of people who lived in some of the islands of the West Indies. many years ago, before Columbus sailed the seas.

Who is this ?
An Arawak girl.
What is she doing ?
She is sowing corn
and planting cassava.
(Look at her hoe.)

Who is this ?
An Arawak mother.
What is she doing ?
She is making
the cassava into flour.
(Look at her mortar.)

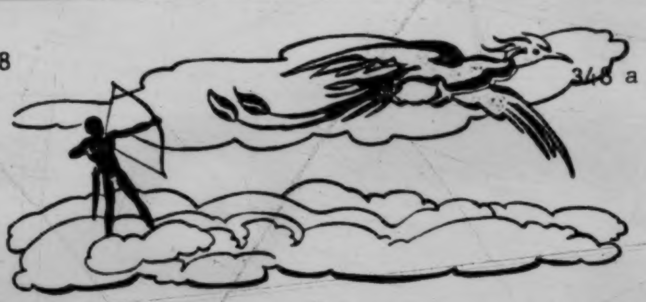
Who is this ?
An Arawak boy.
What is he doing?
He is hunting
the coney.
(Look at his spear.)

Now
the Arawak boy
is shooting
fish.
(Look at his boat.)

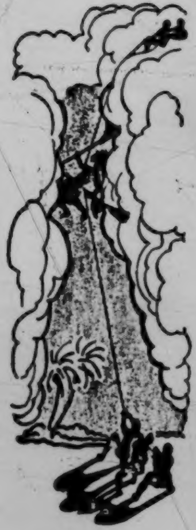
Now
he is
cutting down
a tree.
(Look at his axe.)

He is making
a boat from a tree.
(Look at his fire.)

88



89



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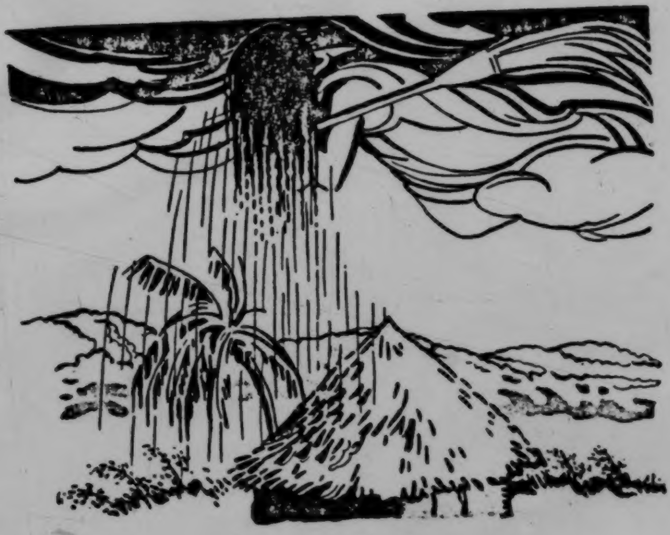
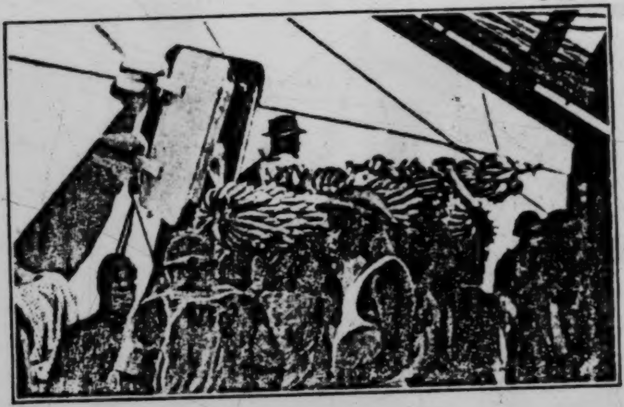


top right: The Great Hunter

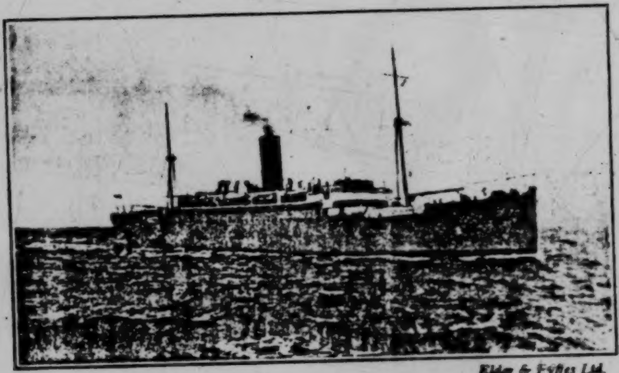
center & bottom right: Rainstorm gets herself and her brooms caught in the clouds. It is her weeping that causes precipitation on Earth.

91

G.B.I.



G.B.I.



Elder & Fyffes Ltd.

Pictures 9 and *10* show men loading bananas on to a truck. What else is used for carrying bananas? Does your father grow bananas? How are his carried? Where does the truck take them?

Pictures 11 and *12.* The bananas are being put on to the steamship which will take them to England. They are stored in a very cool place so that they shall not ripen before the end of the voyage.

92

Wide World Photo

[illegible]

Fox Photos Ltd.

Banana Laborers and Sugar Cane Laborers in the West Indies.

APPENDIX E.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

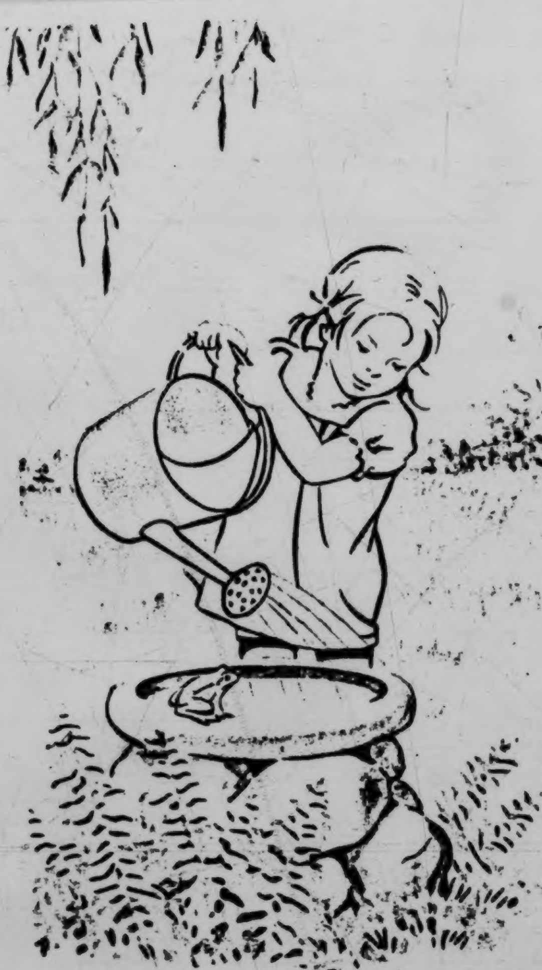
READER 5: NISBET'S JANET AND JOHN READERS.

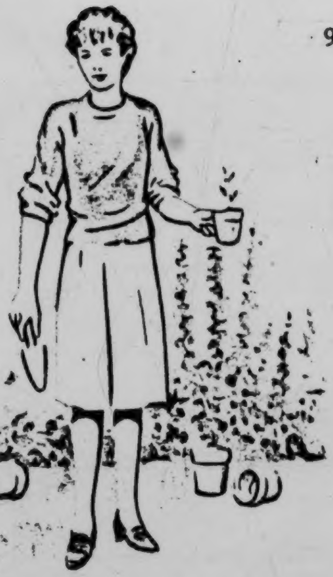
APPENDIX E.

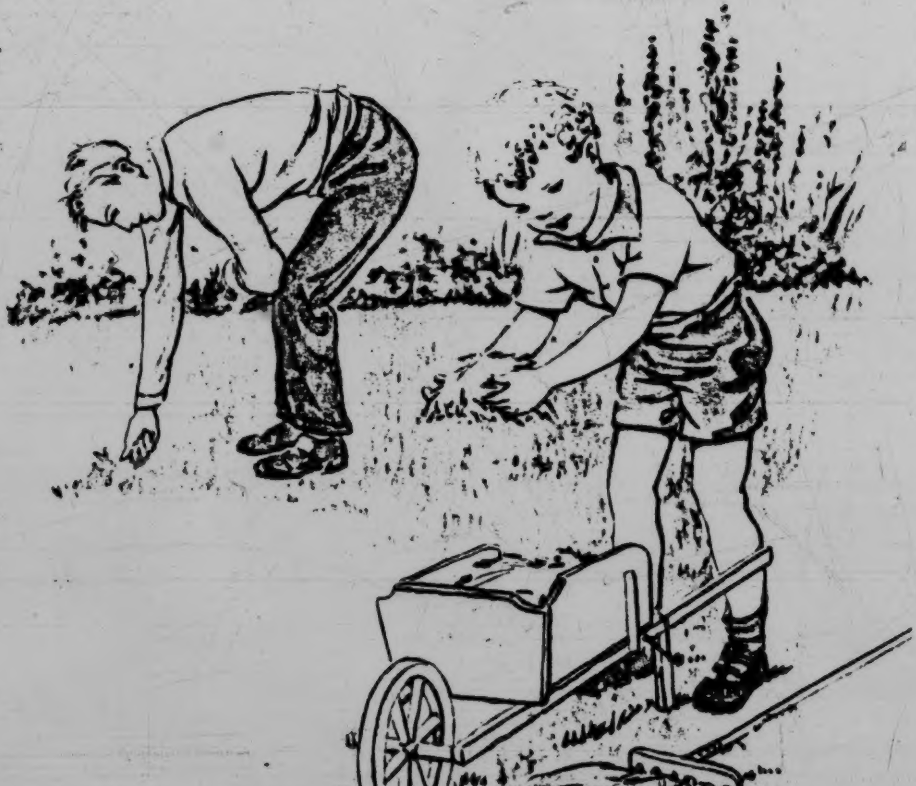
ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 5: NISBET'S JANET AND JOHN READERS.

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
351	93	4-5 I
352	94	27 II
	95	41 II
	96	18 II
	97	13 II
	98	22 II
353	99	10 II
	100	12 II
	101	48 II
	102	11 II

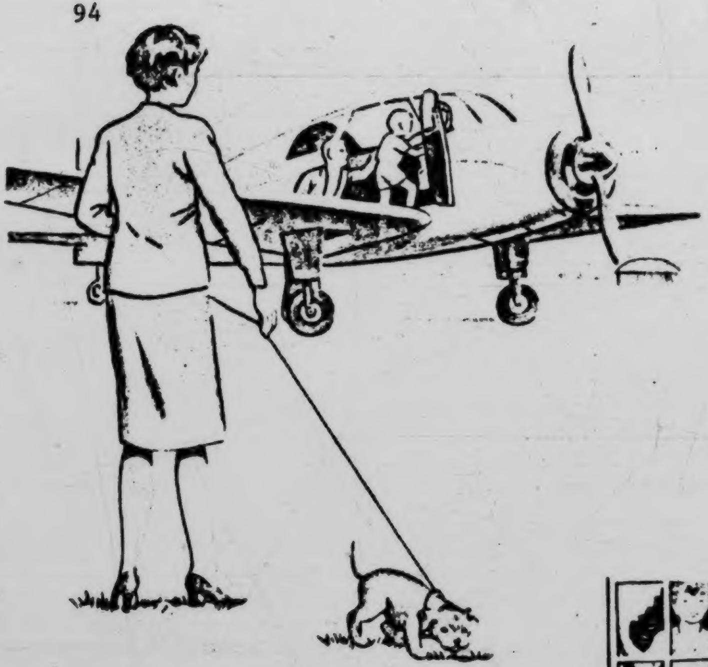






Janet and John helping
in the Family Garden.
(Middle Class Image)

94



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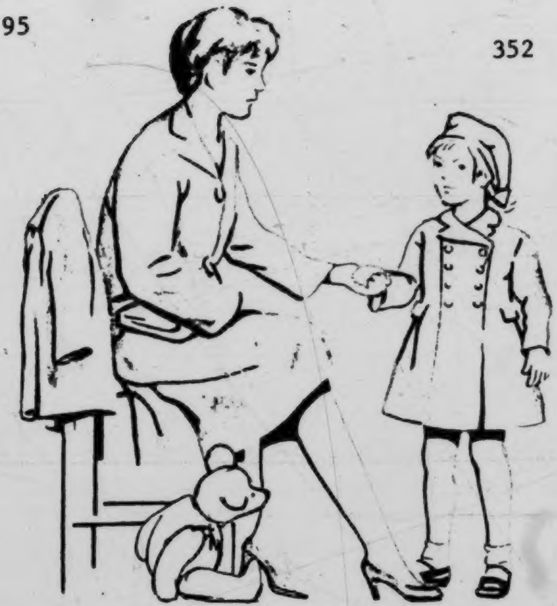
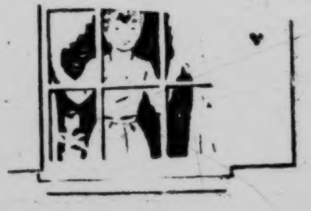
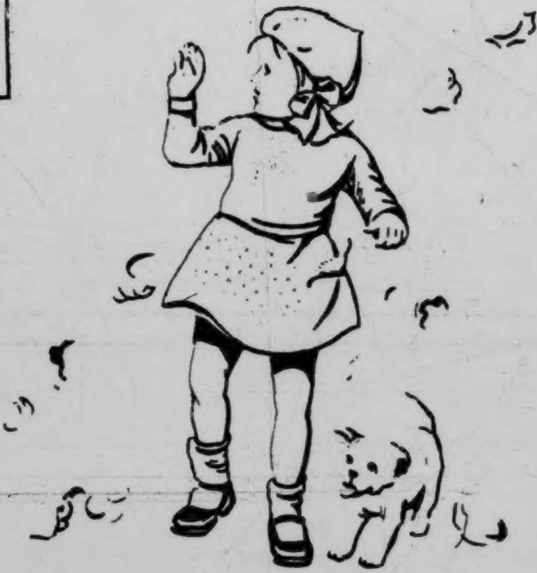


Mother as Onlooker:
Passive.

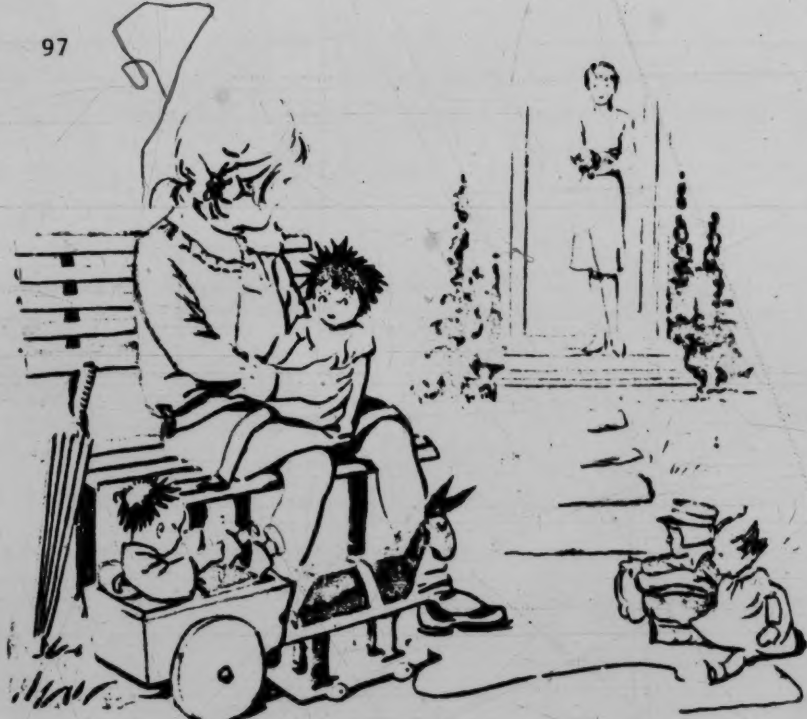
96





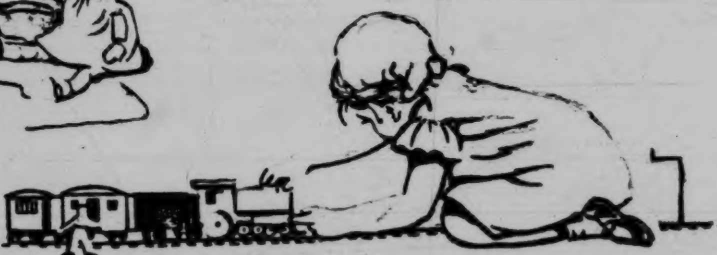
An Autumn Scene.

97



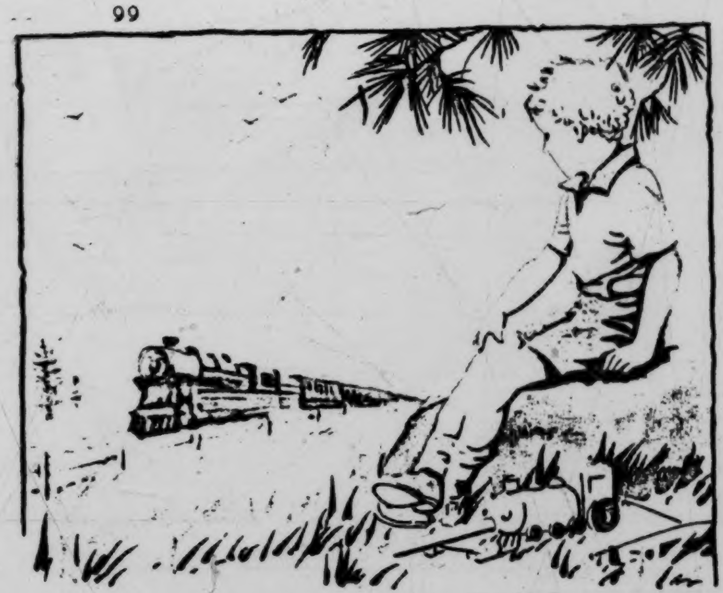
Janet surrounded by dolls.

98

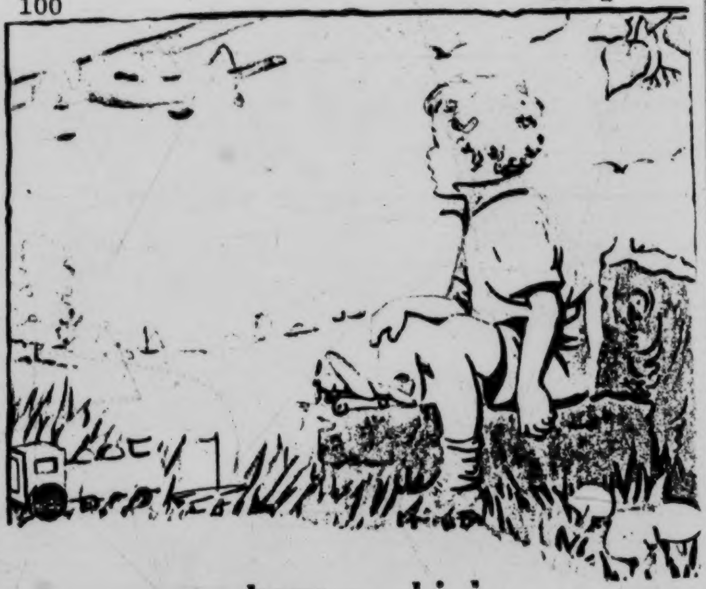


Janet breaks the stereotype and plays with trains.

99

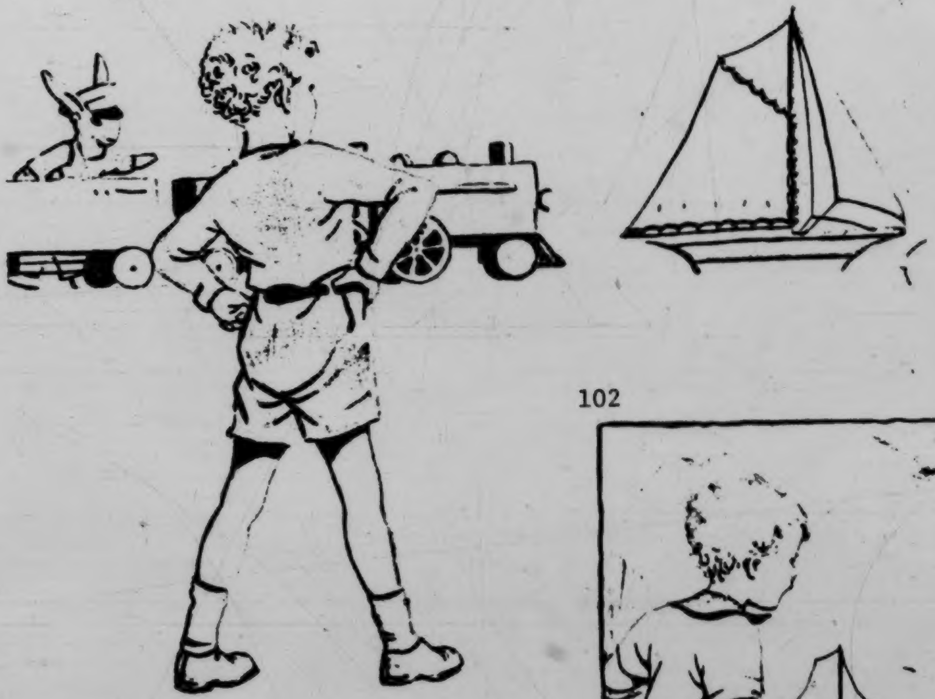


100



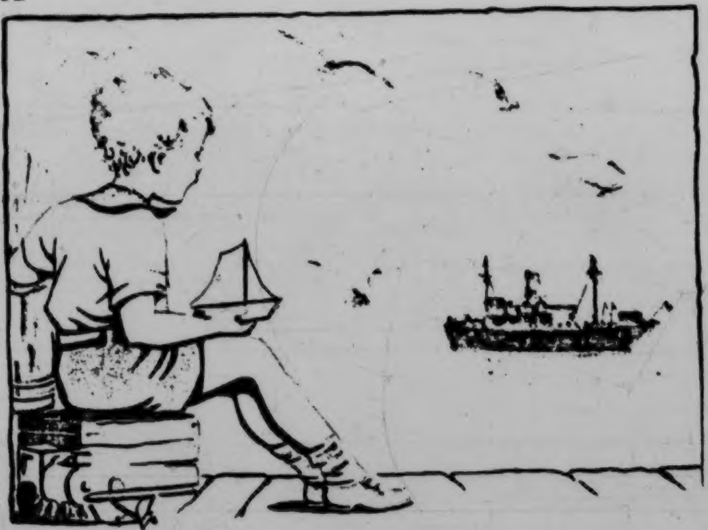
John Dreaming about
things that he can
become 'one day'

101



John looking for
a toy to buy;
NB: No dolls on the
shelf.

102



APPENDIX F.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 6: COLLINS' TRINIDAD & TOBAGO READER.

APPENDIX F

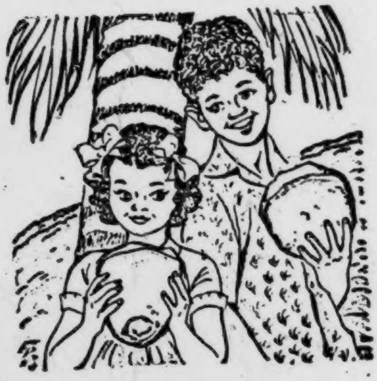
ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 6: COLLIN'S TRINIDAD & TOBAGO READER

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
354	103	3 III
	104	8 III
	105	19 III
355	106	13 III
	107	16 III
	108	25 III
	109	33 III
	110	34 III
356	111	57 III
	112	50 III
	113	5 III
	114	64 III
357	115	68 III
	116	71 III
	117	73 III
358	118	122 III
	119	27 III
	120	30 III
	121	103 III
	122	41 III
359	123	87 III
	124	131 III

Where We All Came From

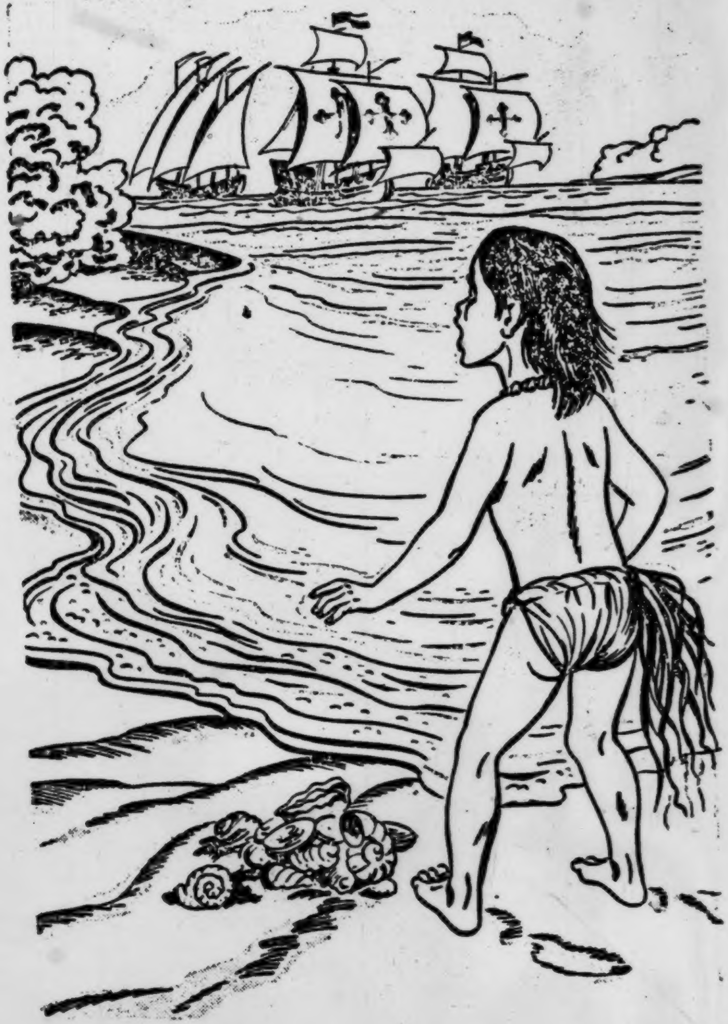
103



This is 'WE'

Columbus 'discovers' the West Indies.

104



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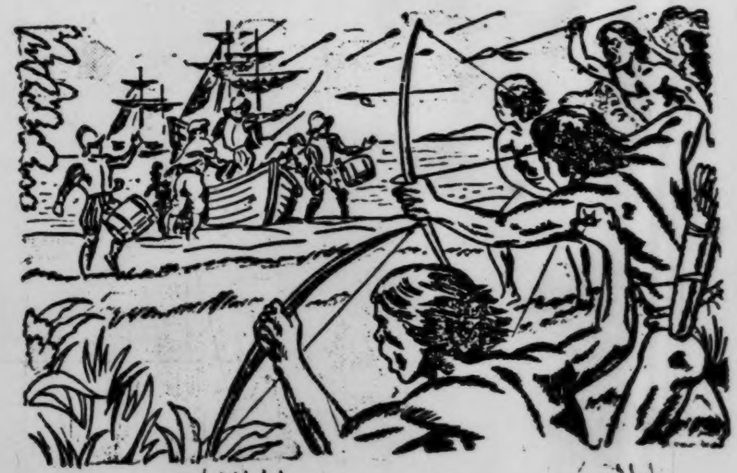
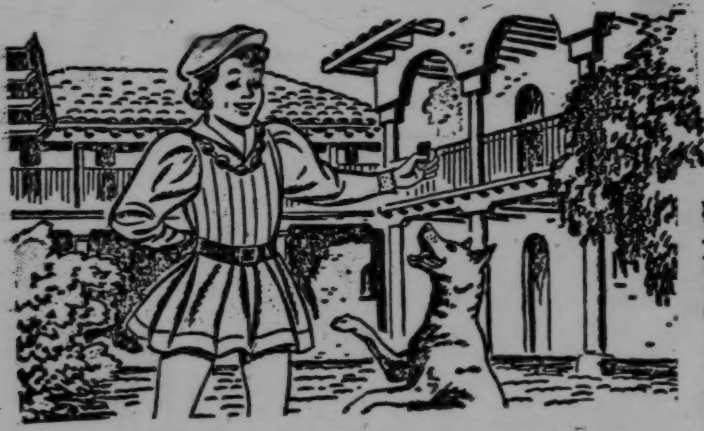


106 JOSE FROM SPAIN



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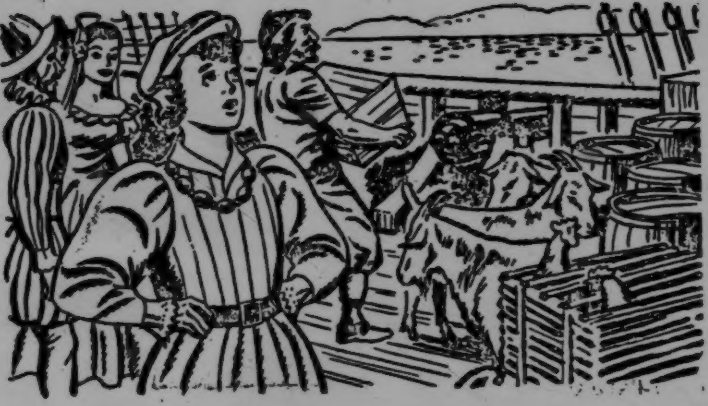
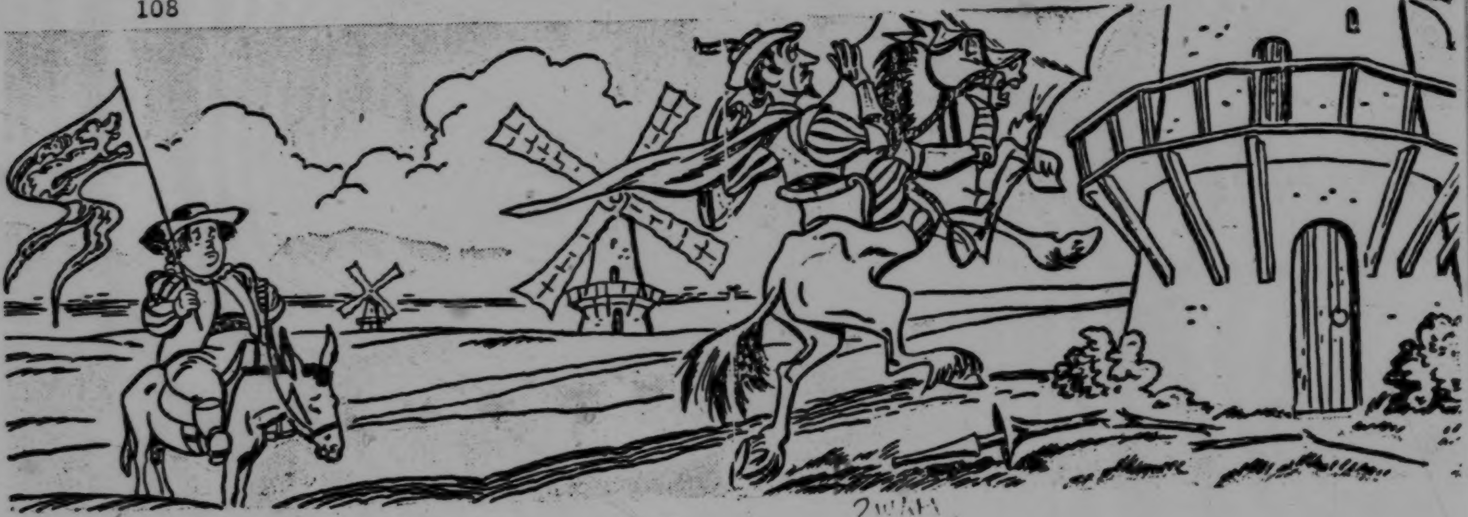


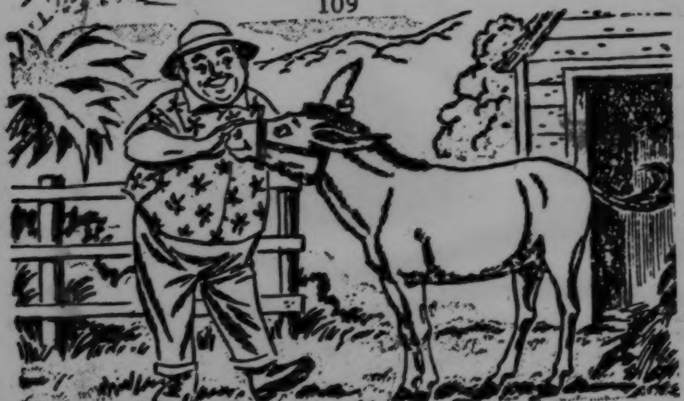
Stories from Spain: Don Quixote.

108



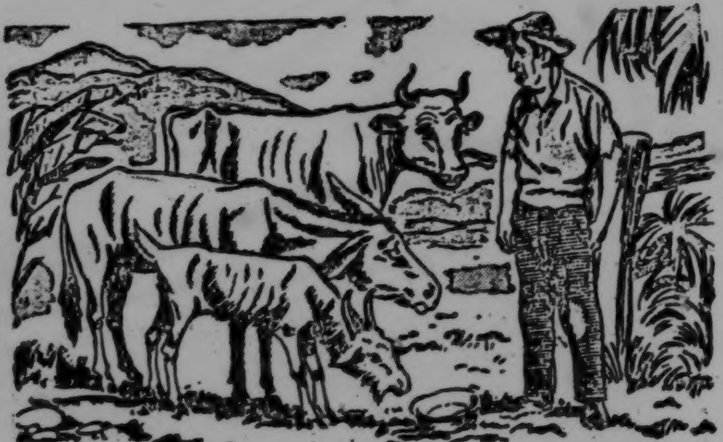
The Good Farmer

109



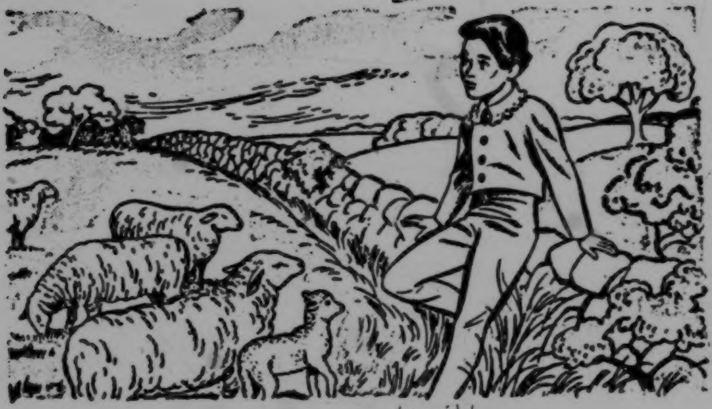
The Mean and Greedy Farmer.

110



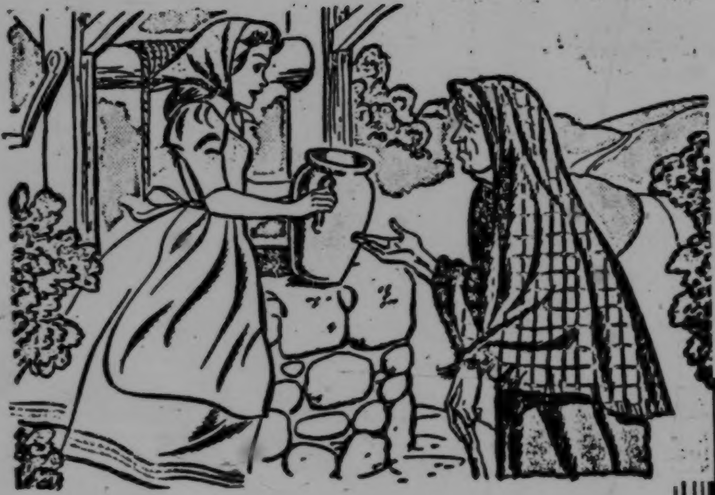
UNDER THE MOON

111



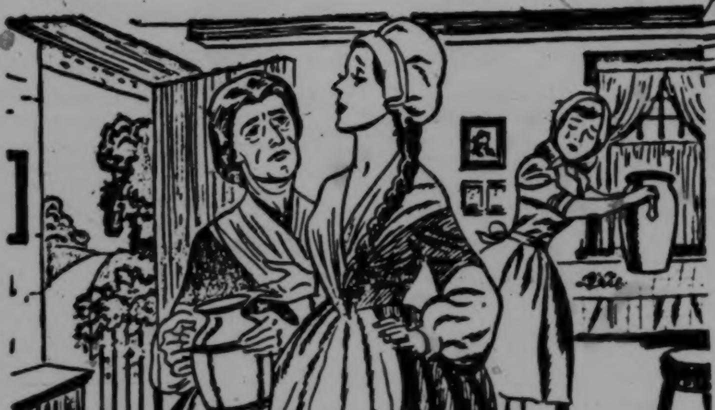
JOHN THE ENGLISH BOY

112



The Kind and Generous..polite, defering daughter.

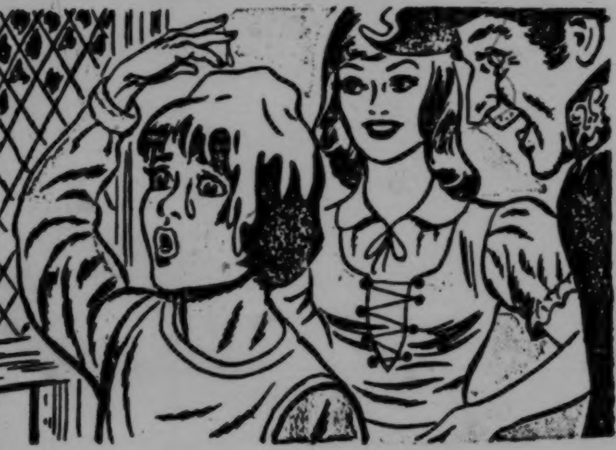
113



The Arrogant, rude, impolite..daughter.

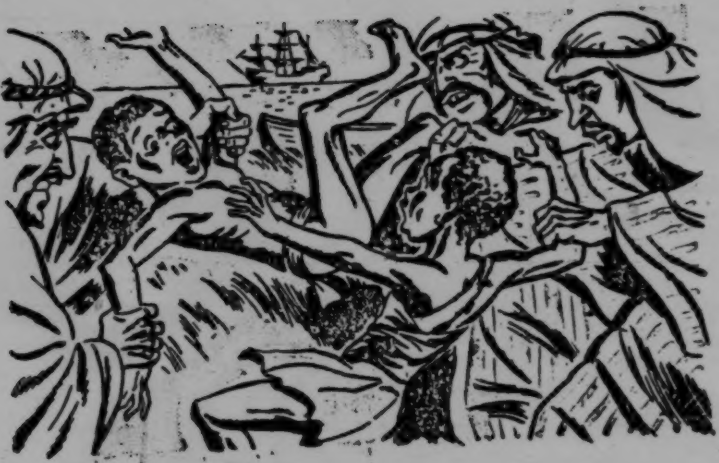
114

Lazy Jack.(incompetent)



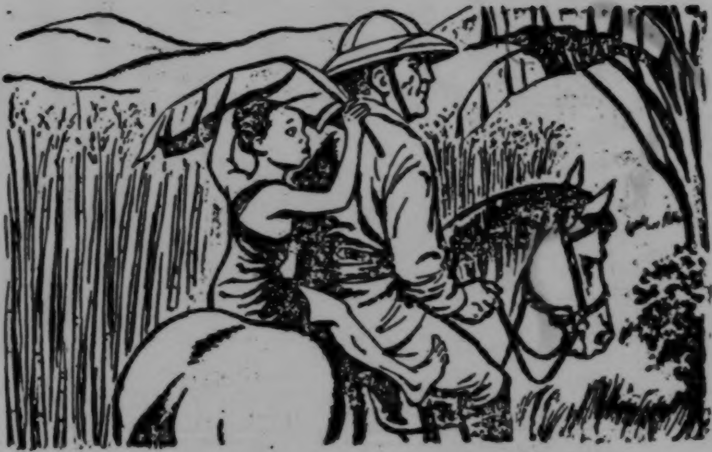
115

Bafa & Acori

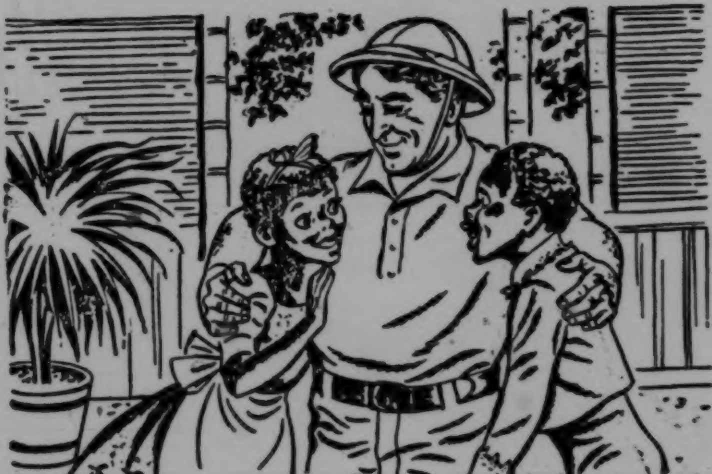


Stolen by 'Arabs'.

116

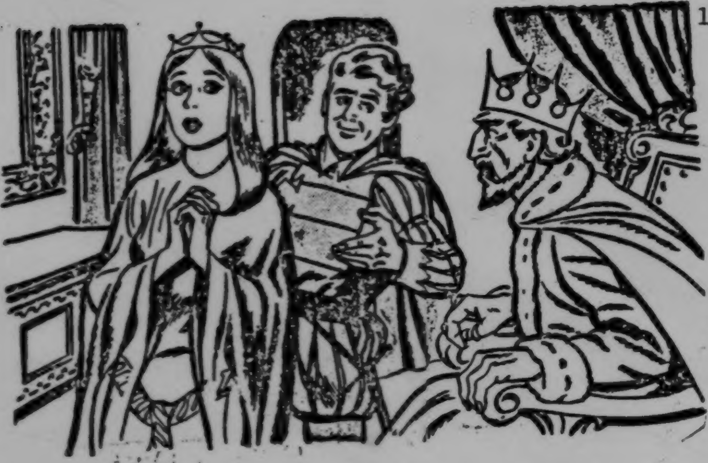


117



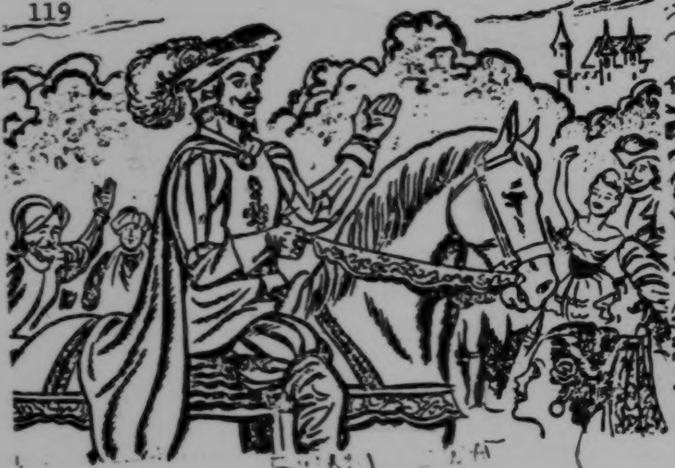
John the kind and
generous English
Planter.

118

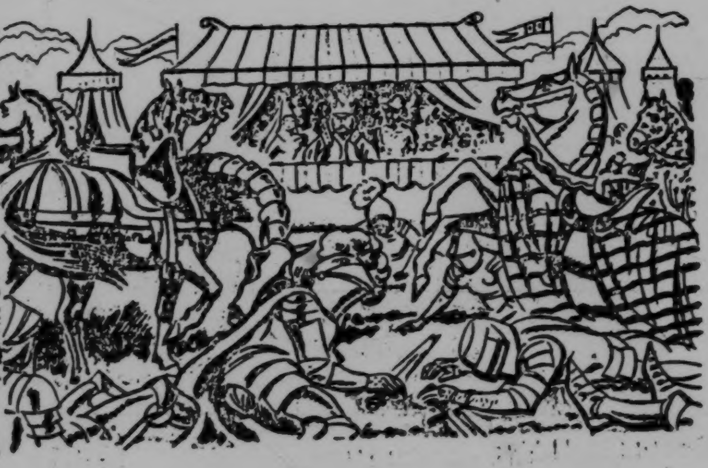


The Princess who visited the World of Giants and the Man who found her out.

119

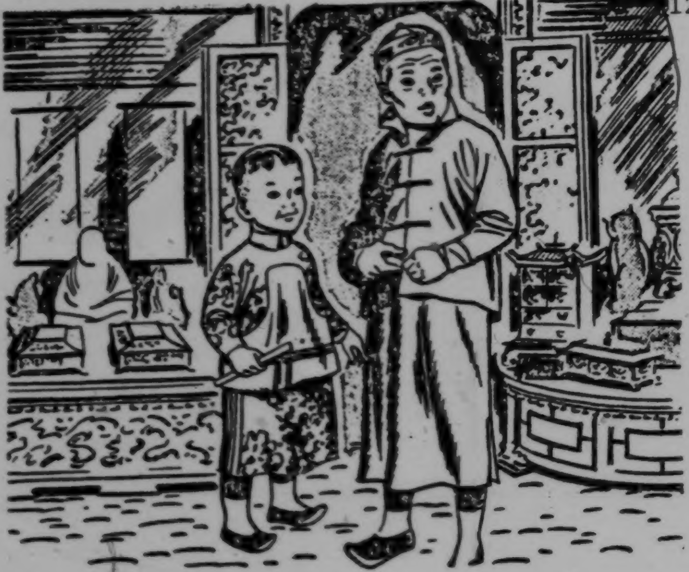


120



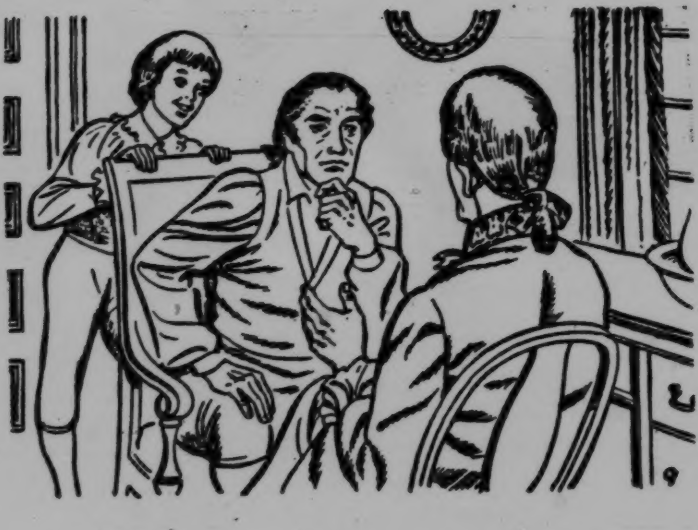
The Handsome Prince who has come for the hand of the Ugly Pricess, and the Knights who lost to avoid their fate of marriage to the same princess.

121



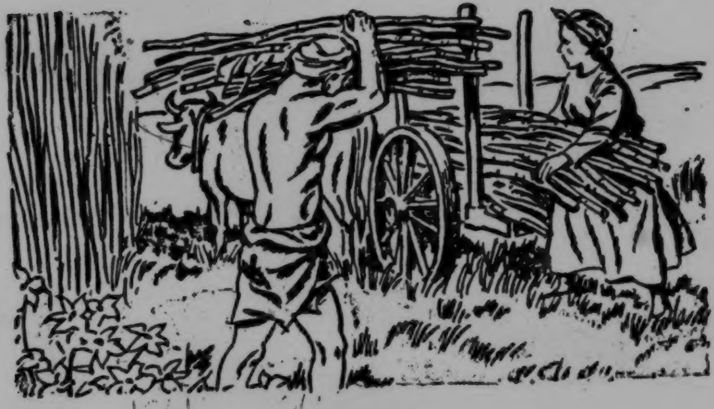
Chang the Chinese boy and his father

.122



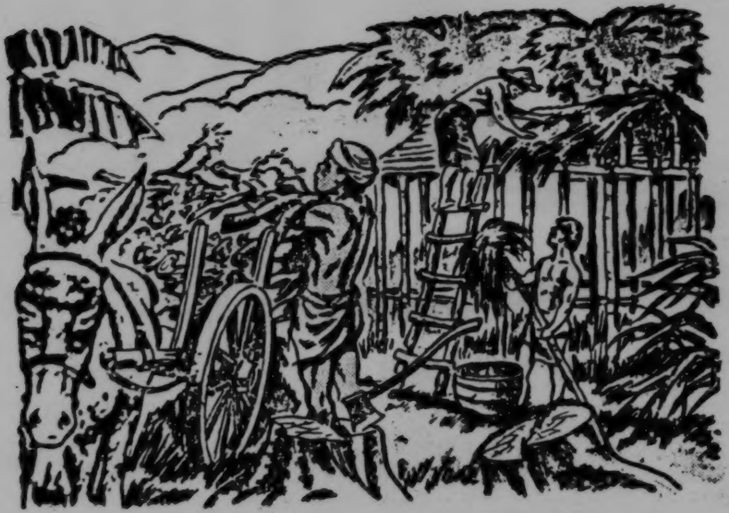
Hugo ~~the~~ French boy, his father & Monsieur St. Laurent.

123



East Indian Indentured Laborers.

124



Workers Building a Nation.

APPENDIX G.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 7: BLACKIES TROPICAL READER.

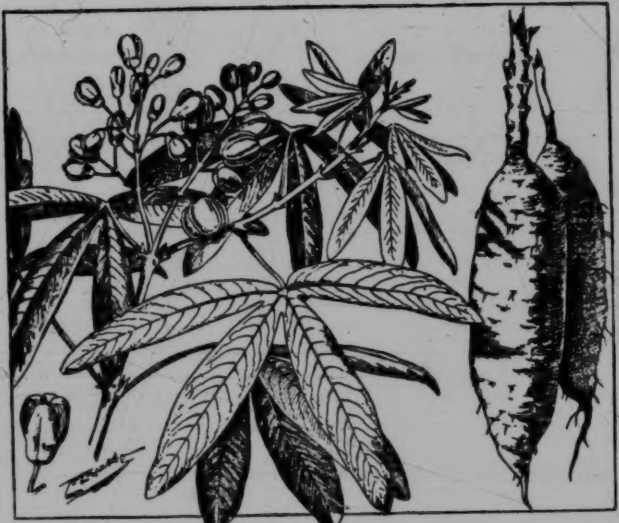
APPENDIX G

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 7: BLACKIES TROPICAL READER.

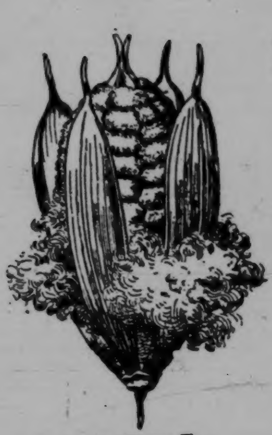
Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
361	125	169
	126	179
	127	122
	128	43
	129	61

125



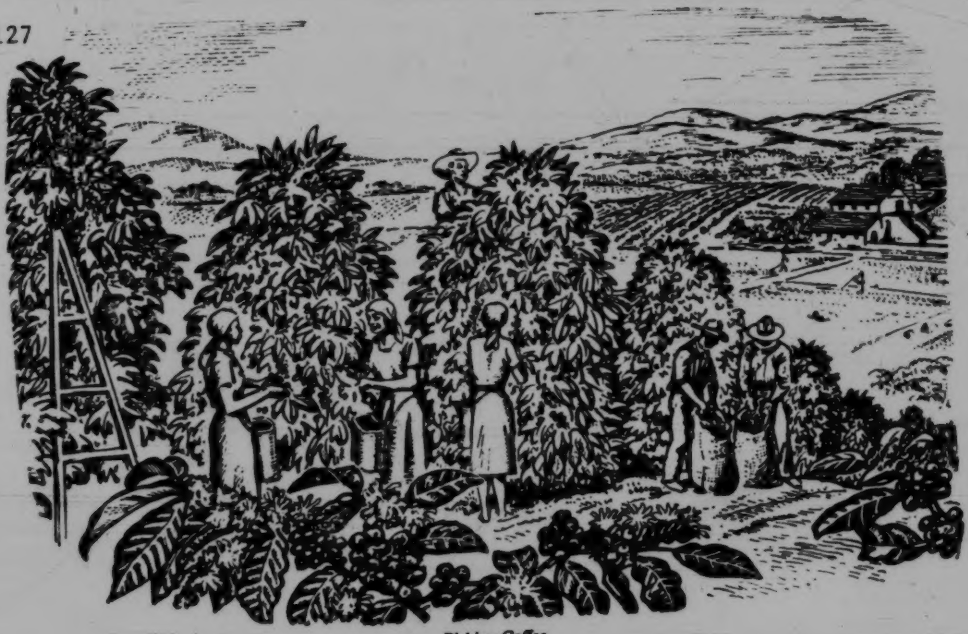
The Cassava Plant and its Roots

126



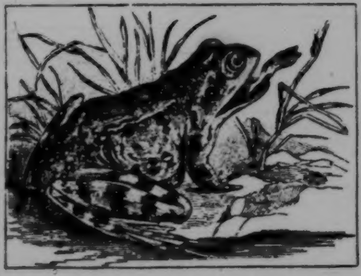
Seed-pod of Cotton Tree

127



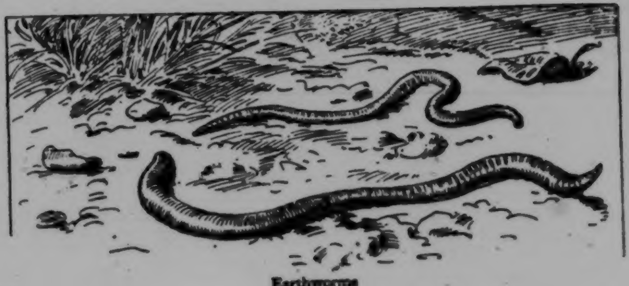
Picking Coffee

128



Tongue of Frog put out to take its Prey

129



Earthworms

APPENDIX H.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 8: COLLINS' IBIS READERS.

APPENDIX H.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

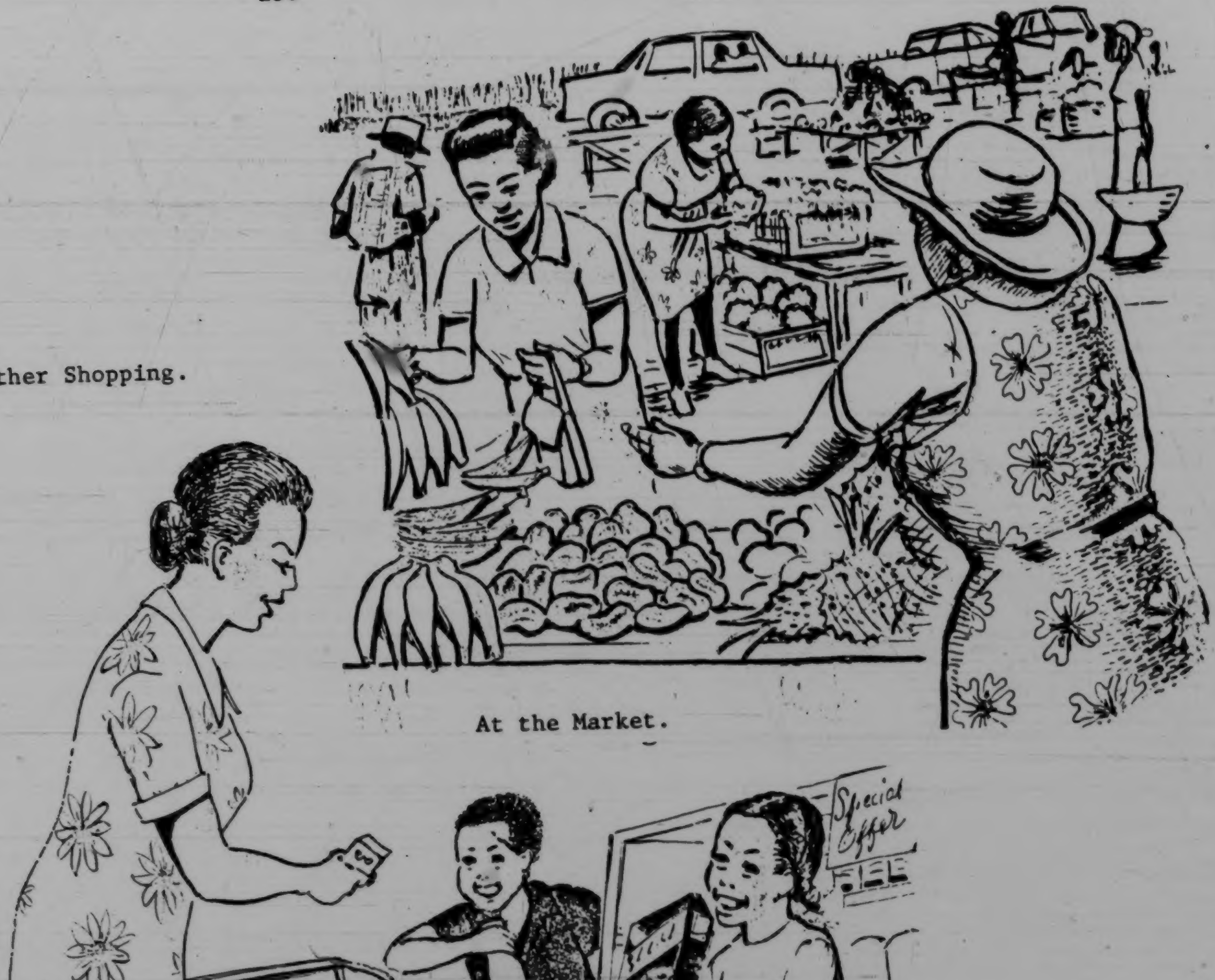
READER 8: COLLIN'S IBIS READERS.

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
363	130	35 II
	131	23 I
364	132	22 I
	133	37 II
365	134	25 I
	135	24 I
366	136	18 I
	137	19 I
	138	19 I
367	139	30 I
	140	31 I
368	141	16 I
	142	36 I
	143	17 I
	144	
369	145	11 I
	146	13 III
370	147	5 II
	148	21 III
371	149	36 II
	150	41 I
	151	13 I

130

Mother Shopping.

131

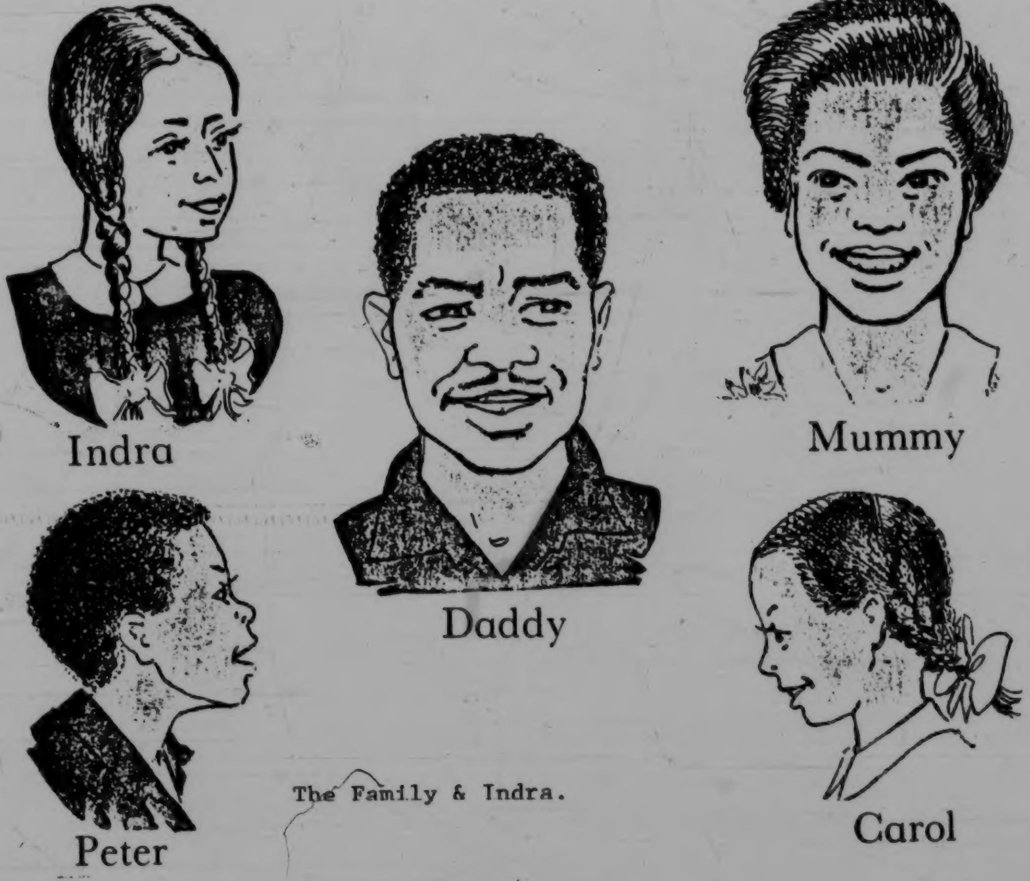


Special Offer

At the Market.

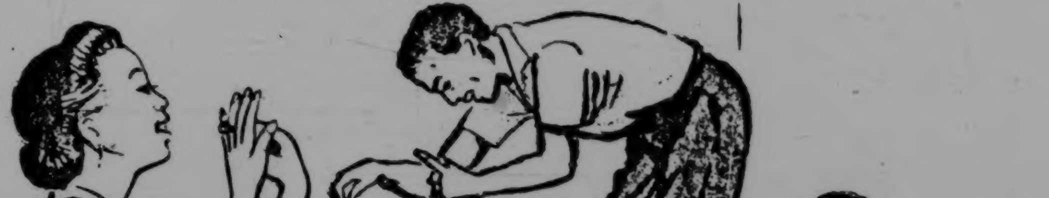
At the Supermarket.

132


Indra
Daddy
Mummy
Peter
Carol

The Family & Indra.

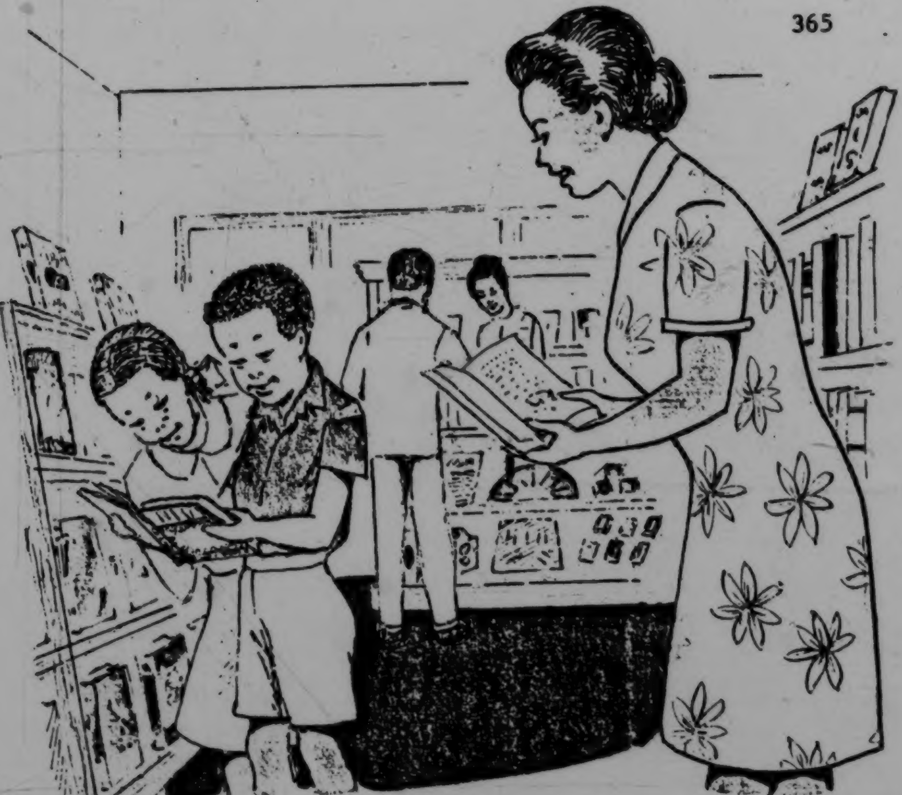
133


PAINTING BOOK
AT HOME

(Middle class Image)

134

Mother and Children
go Shopping: For
the Children.



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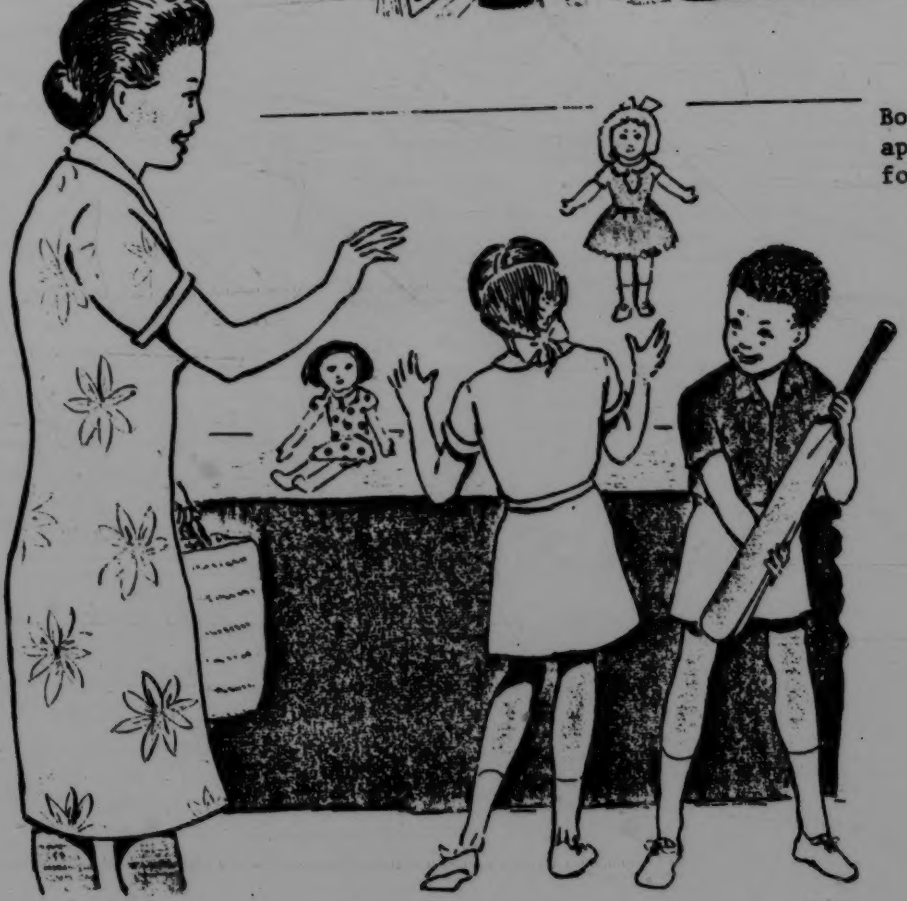
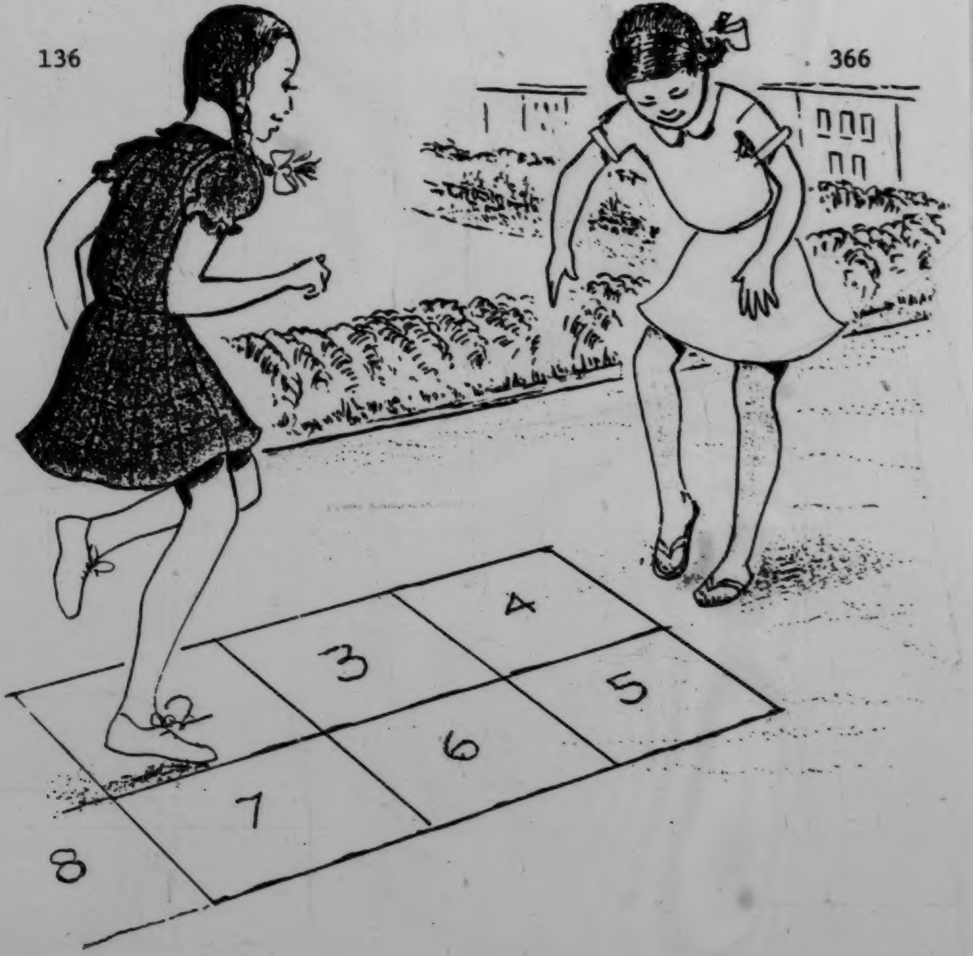


Books and Sex-
appropriate toys
for Carol and Peter.

Acitivities for
Girls.
Skipping and
Hop Scotch.

136



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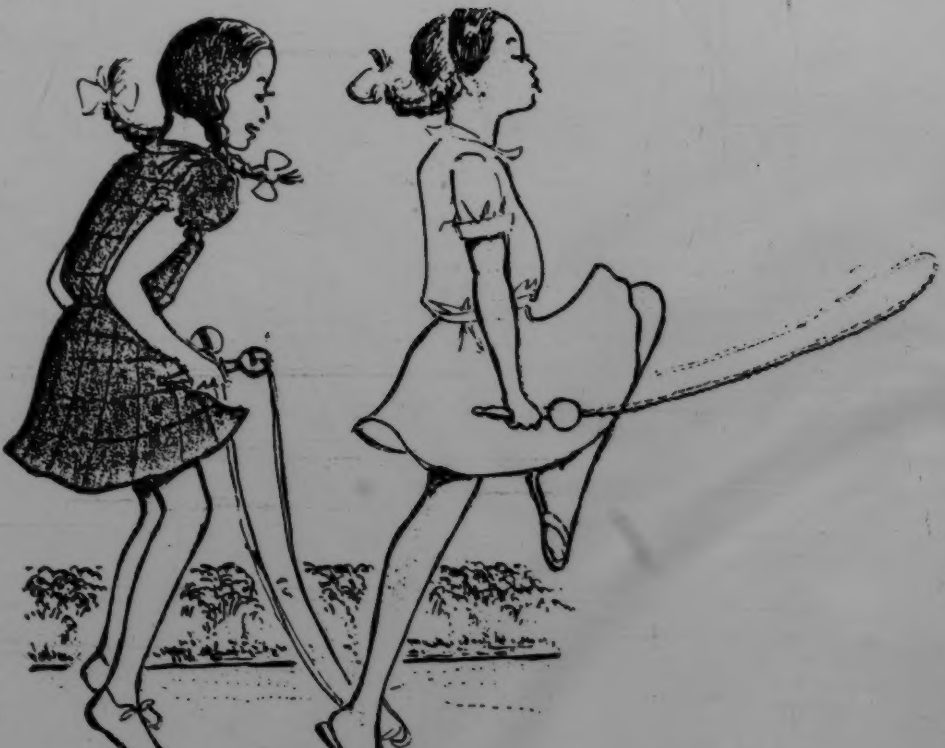
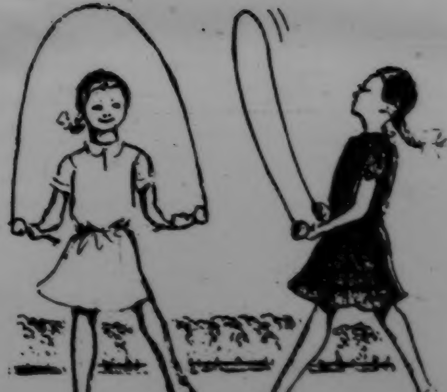
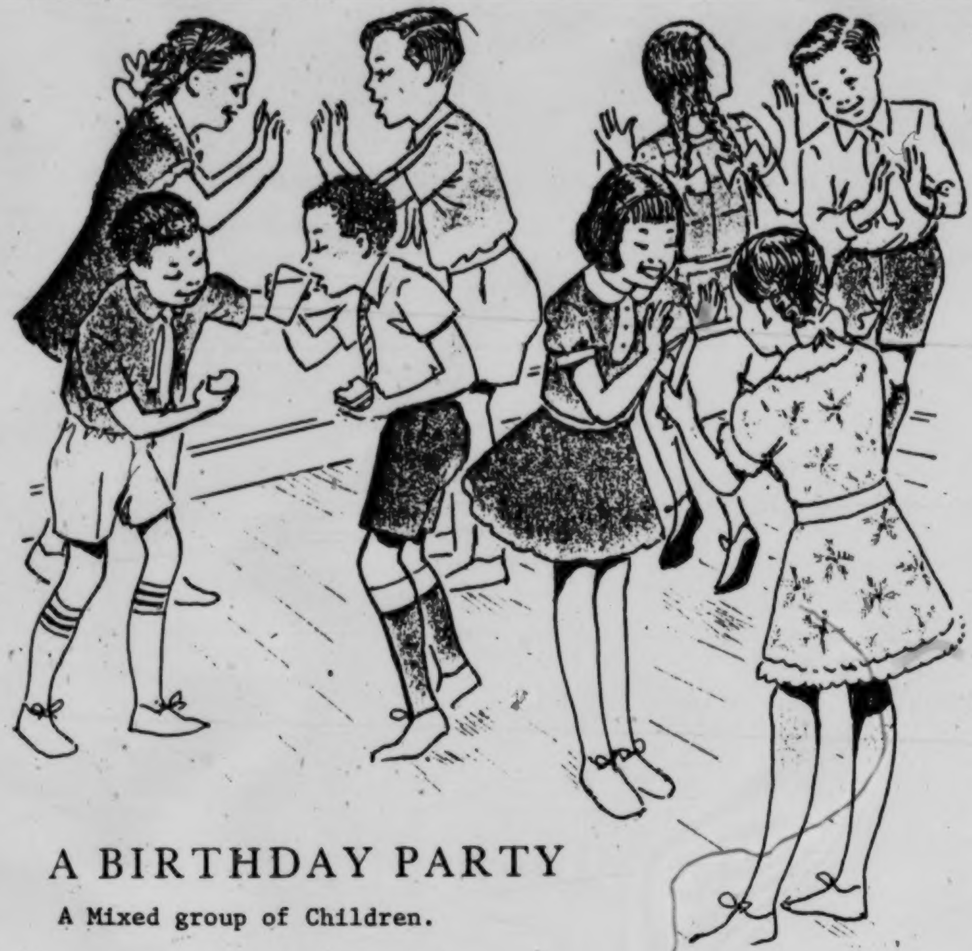


138



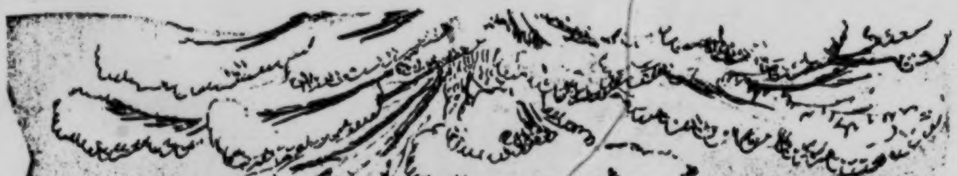
139



A BIRTHDAY PARTY

A Mixed group of Children.

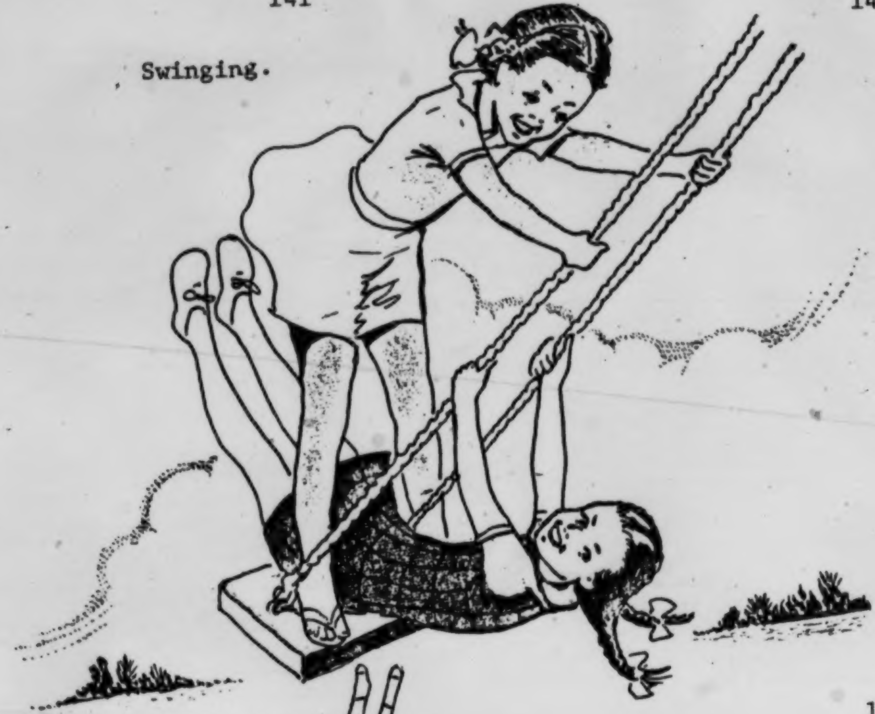
140



All Female: Doll play.

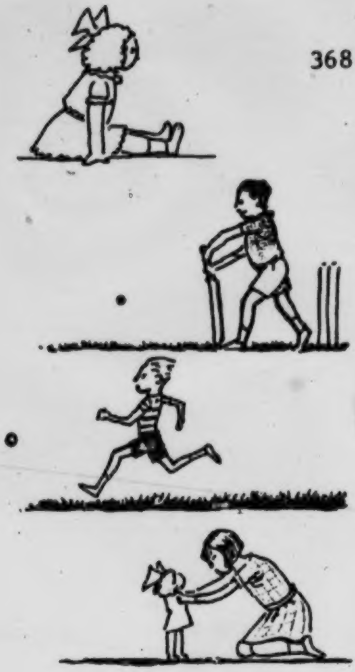
141

Swinging.



142

368



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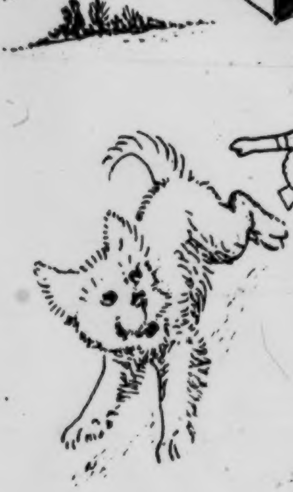
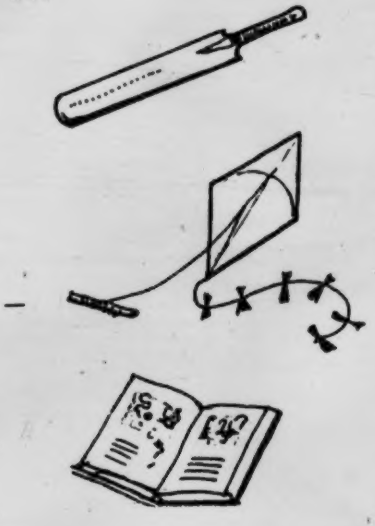
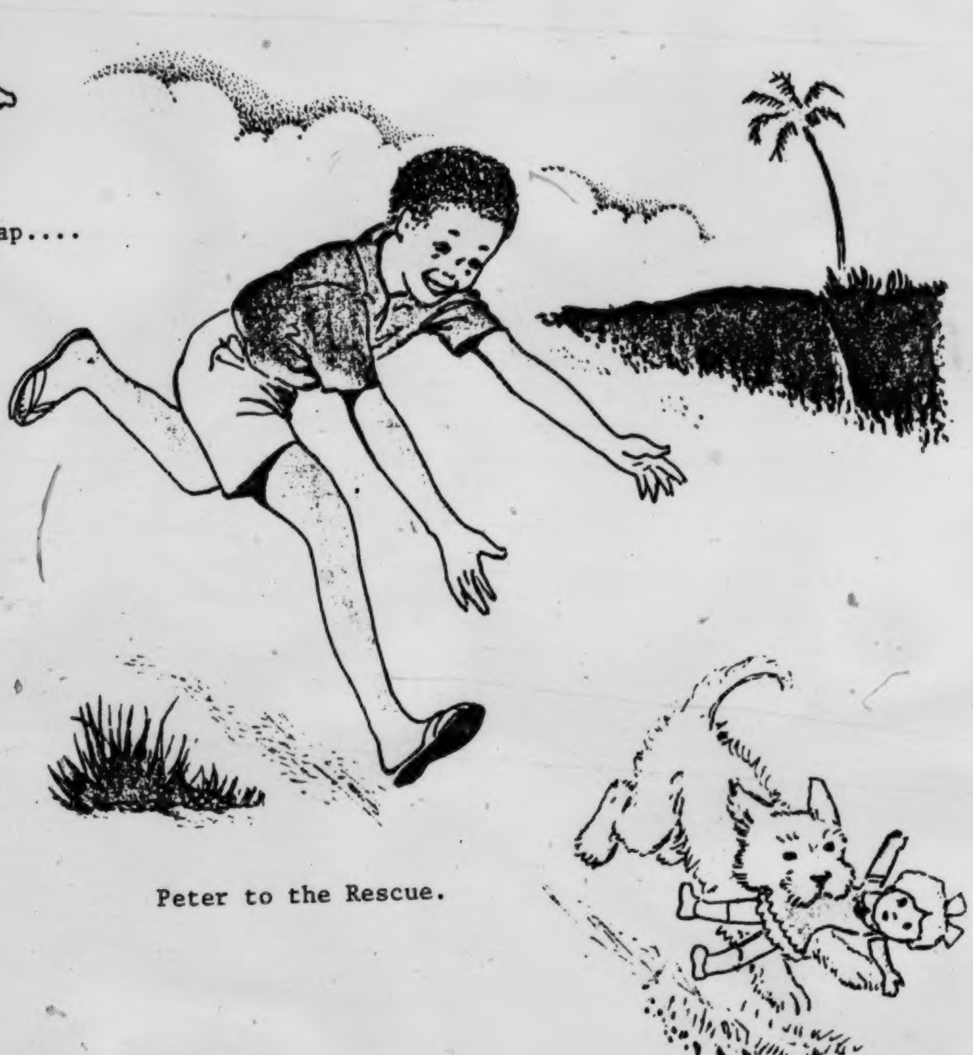


Mishap....

144





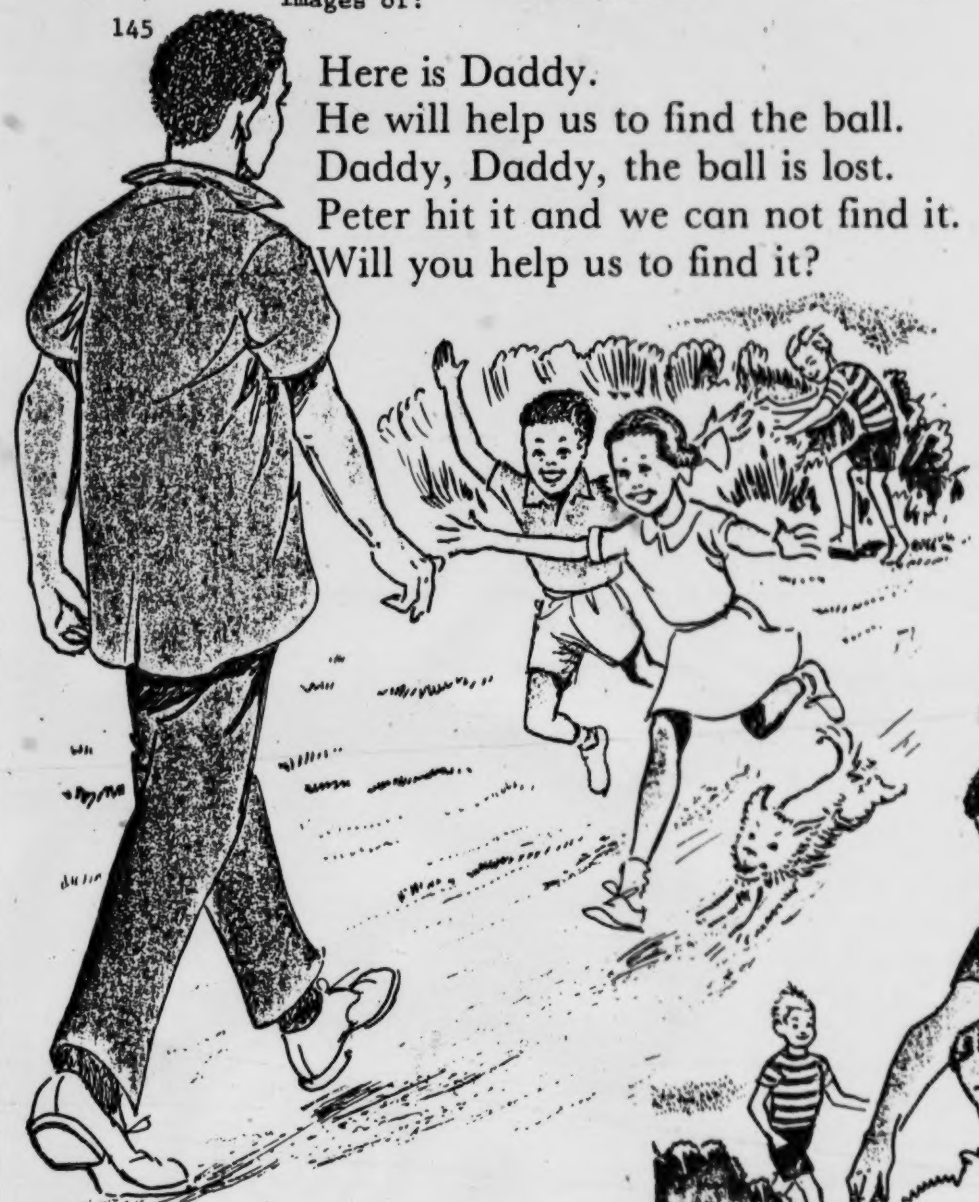
Peter to the Rescue.

Images of:

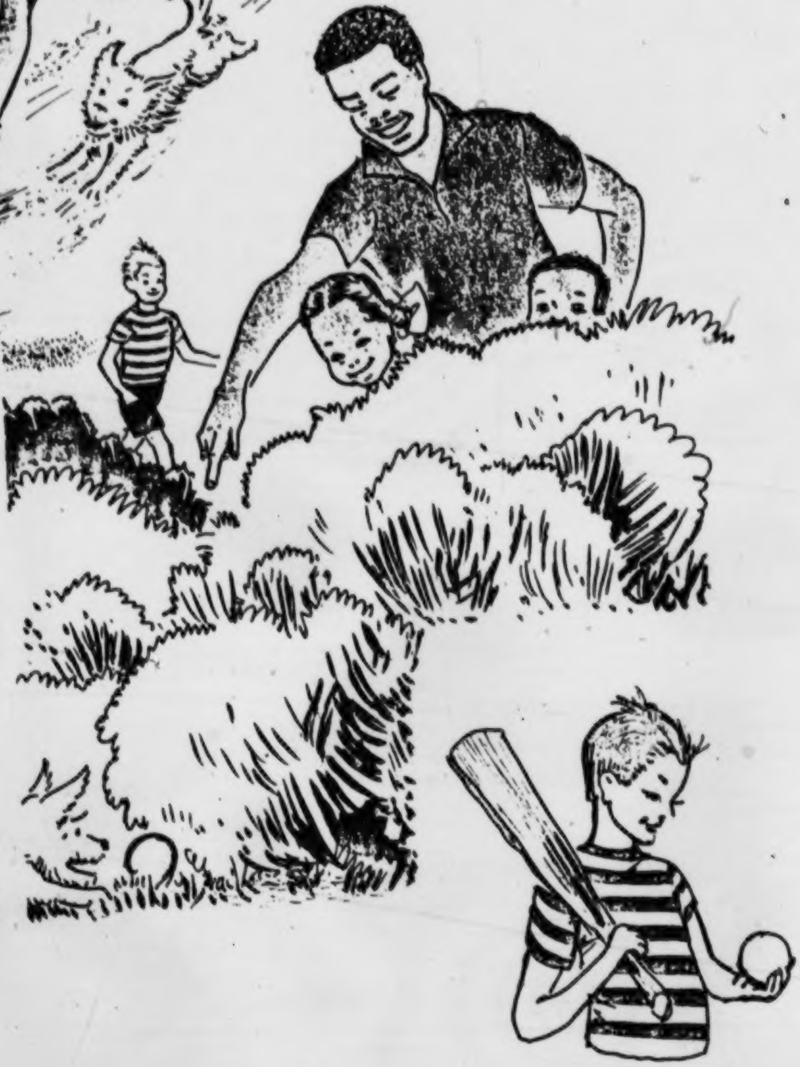
DADDY

145

Here is Daddy.
He will help us to find the ball.
Daddy, Daddy, the ball is lost.
Peter hit it and we can not find it.
Will you help us to find it?

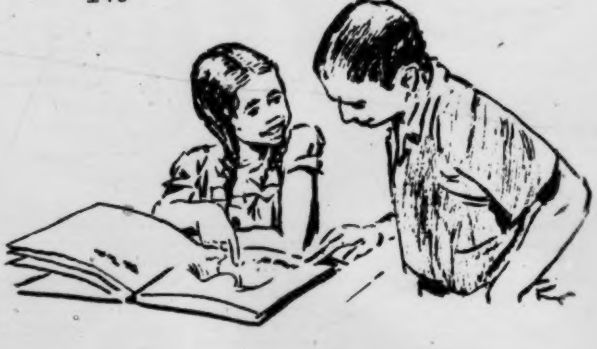


Peter and Carol's Father.



Indra's father.

146



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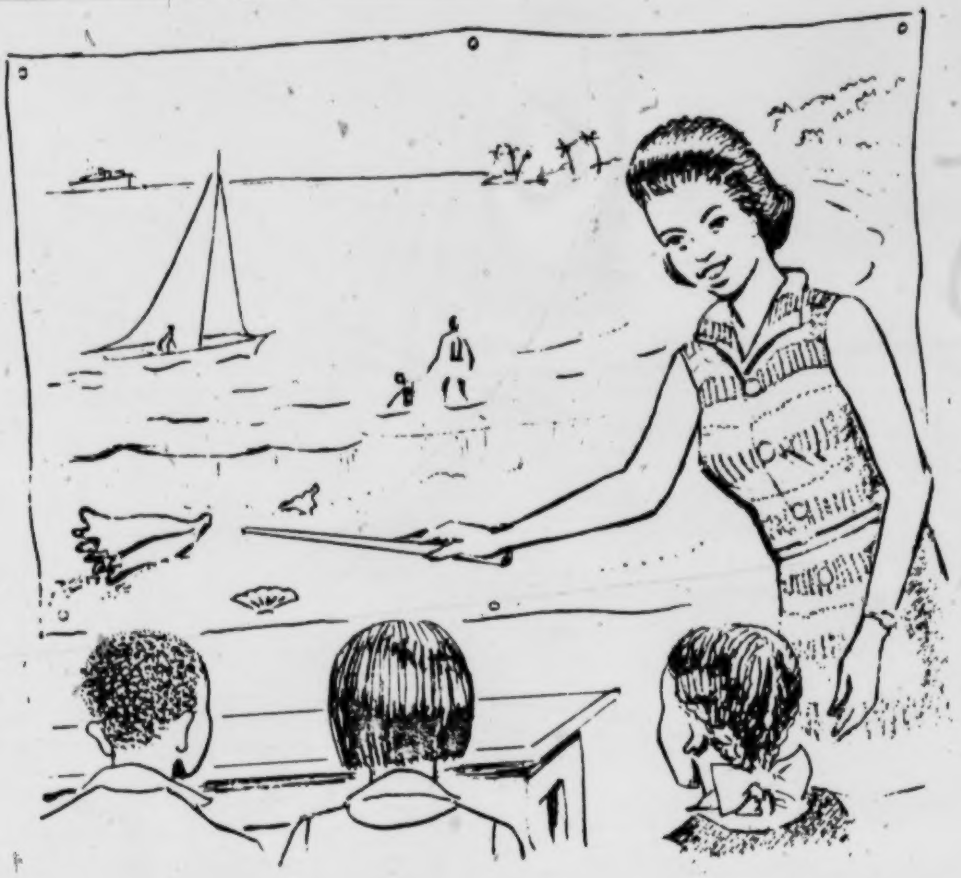
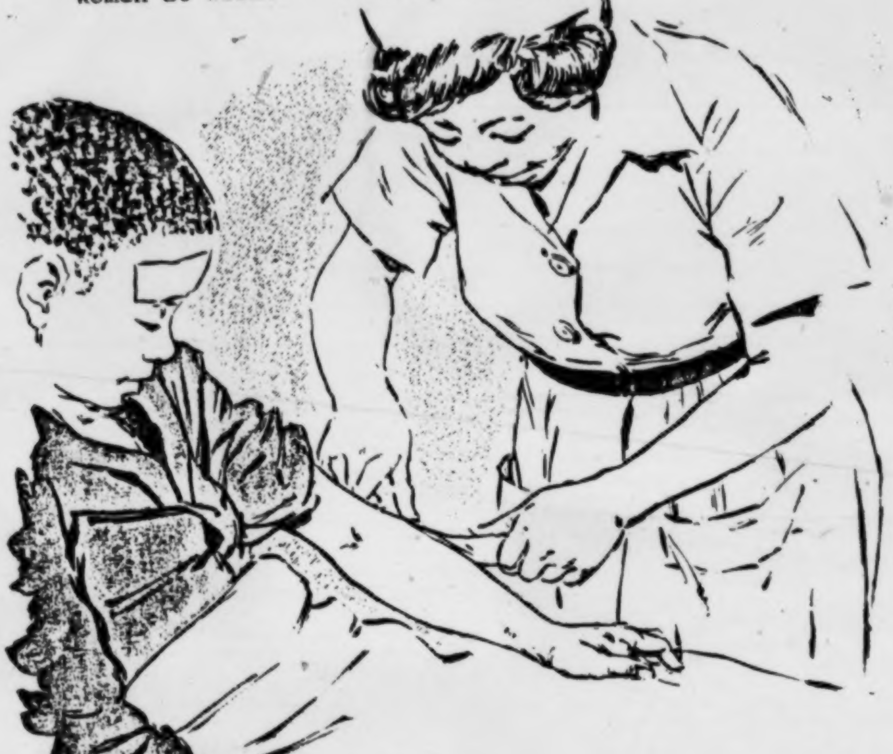


Women at Work. Teacher and Nurse.

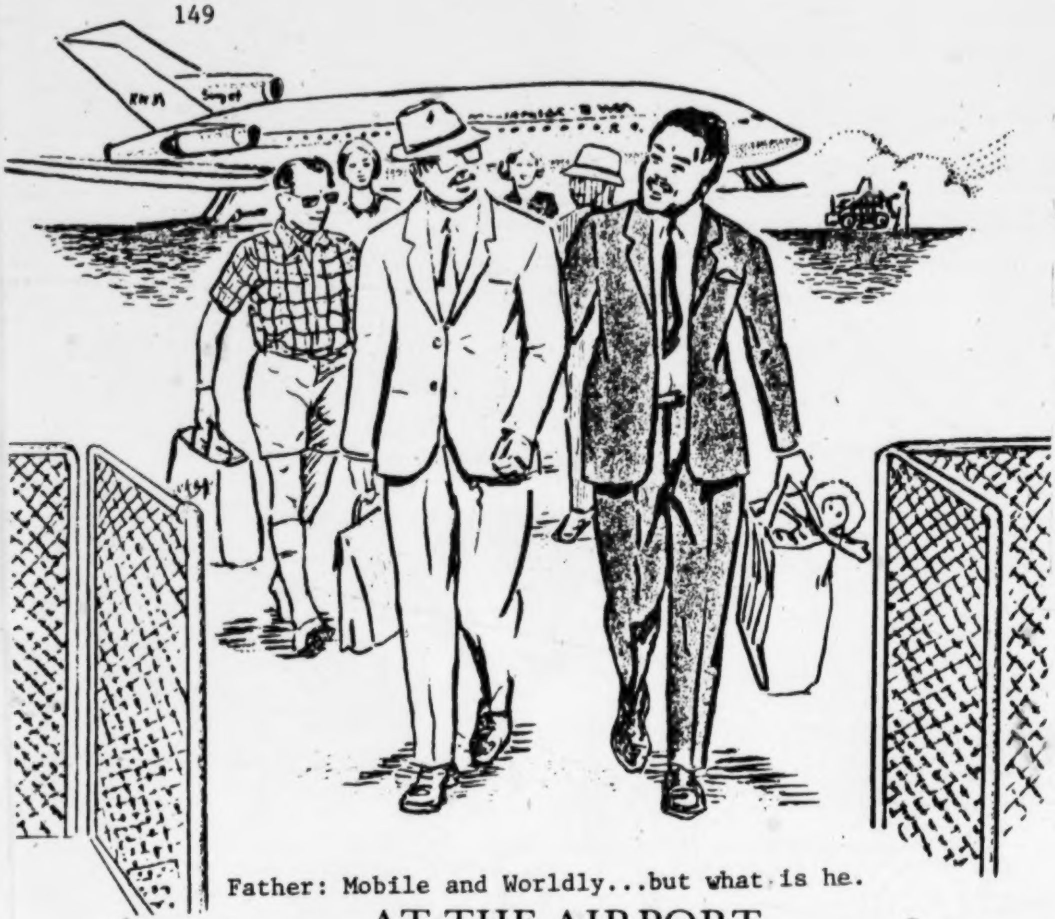
148



APPENDIX H (Continued)

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
371	152	35 I
372	153	2 II
	154	4 II
373	155	4 III, 34 I
	156	32 I
	157	
374	158	12 II
	159	50 III
	160	37 III
375	161	29 II
	162	31 II
	163	30 II
376	164	9 III
	165	40 I
	166	11 III
	167	12 III
377	168	15 II
	169	24-5 II

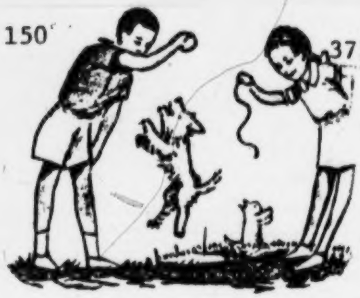
149

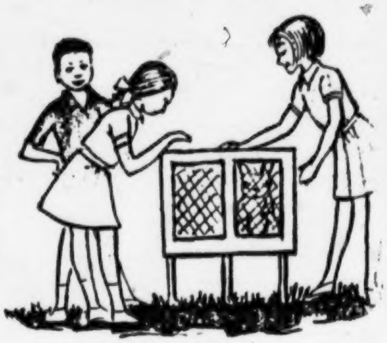


Father: Mobile and Worldly...but what is he.

AT THE AIRPORT

150 371





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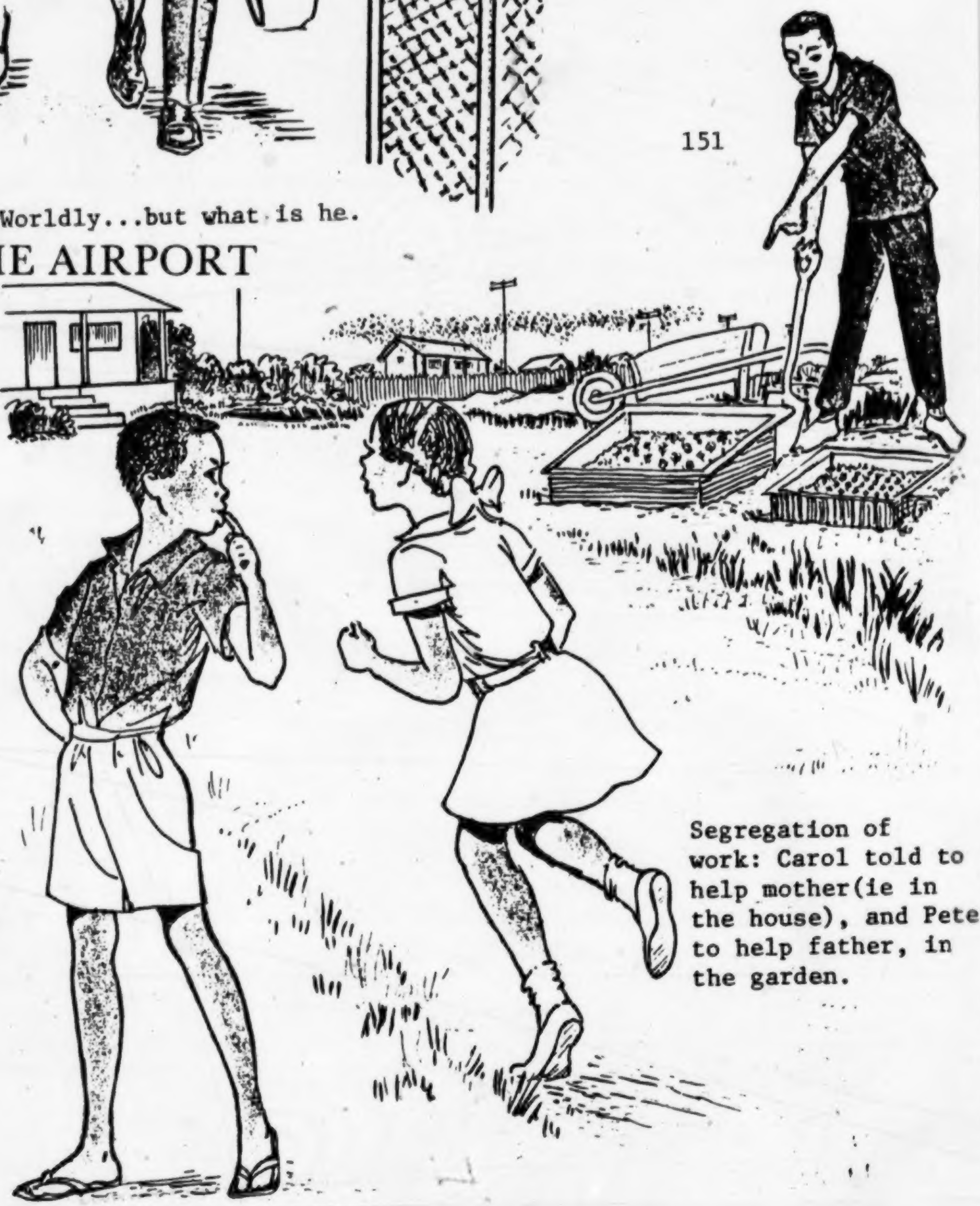

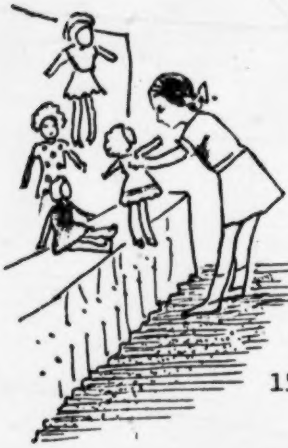

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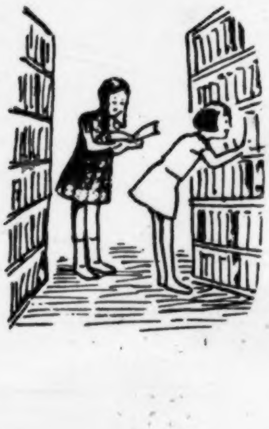
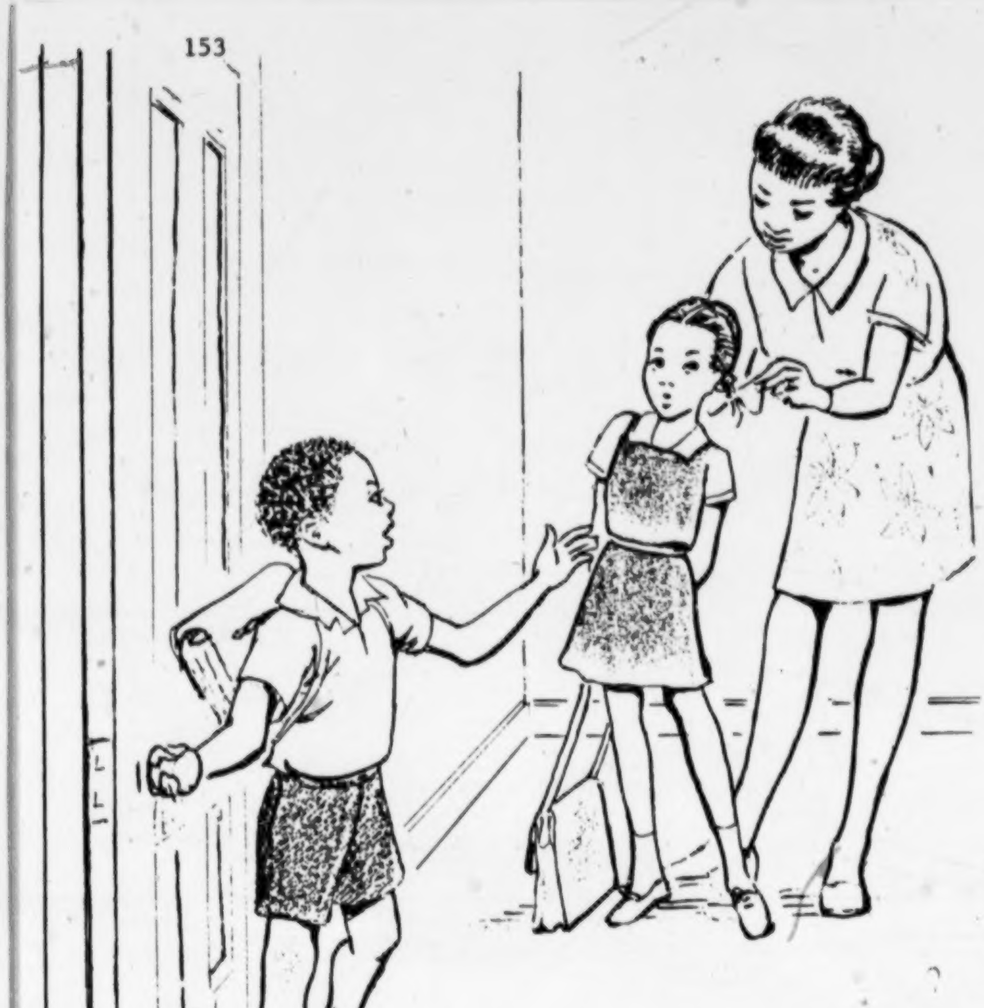


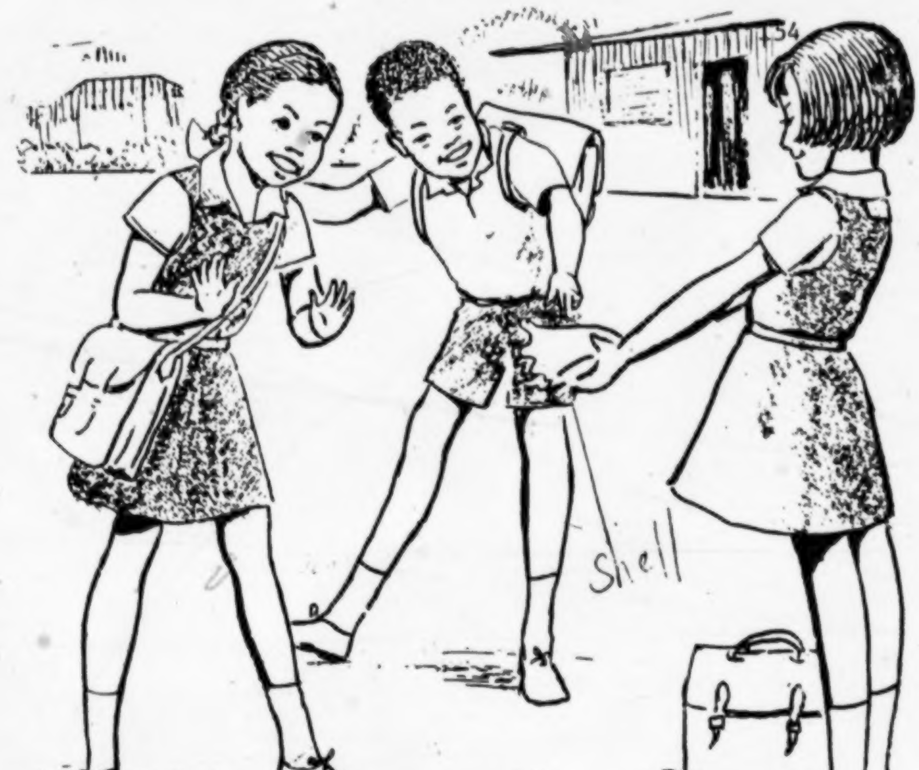
Segregation of work: Carol told to help mother(ie in the house), and Peter to help father, in the garden.

153

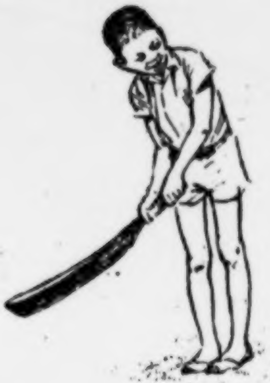


Mother attending to Carol's hair. Dependency implied. Peter is independent, and ready for School.

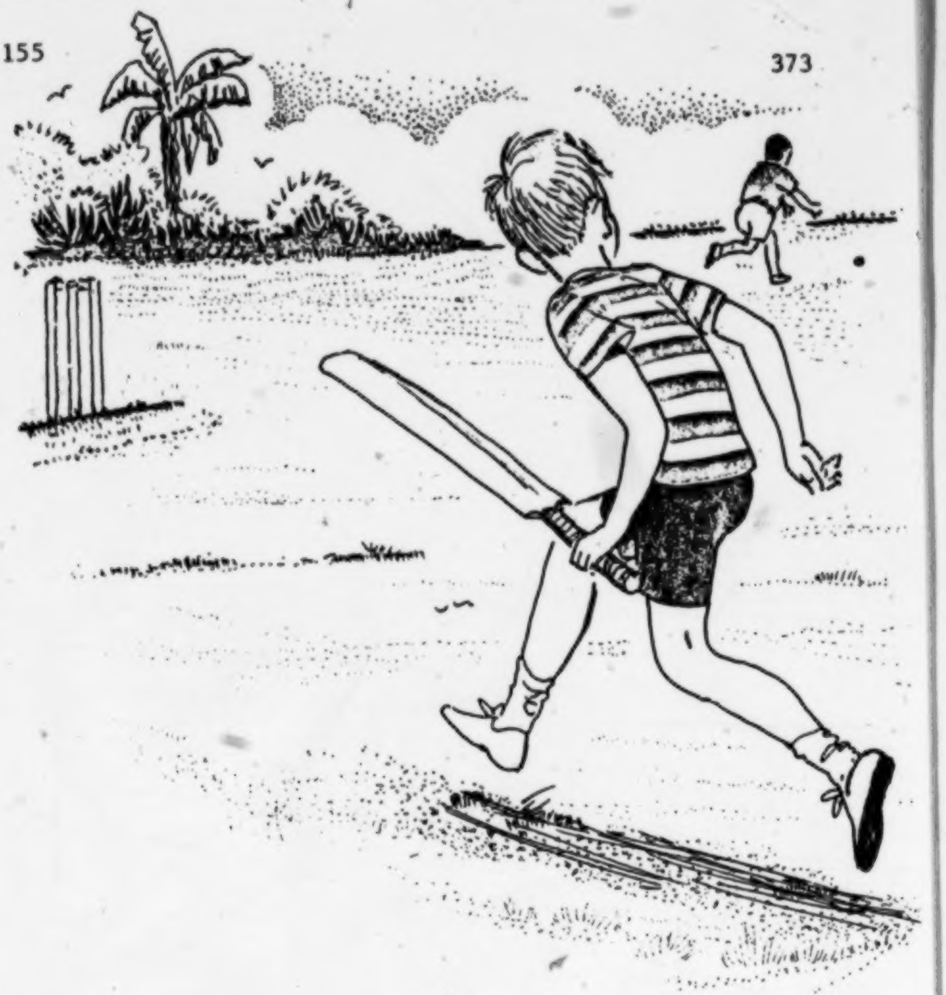
154



Joy shows Peter & Carol a shell. Joy is portrayed as a consciencious student.

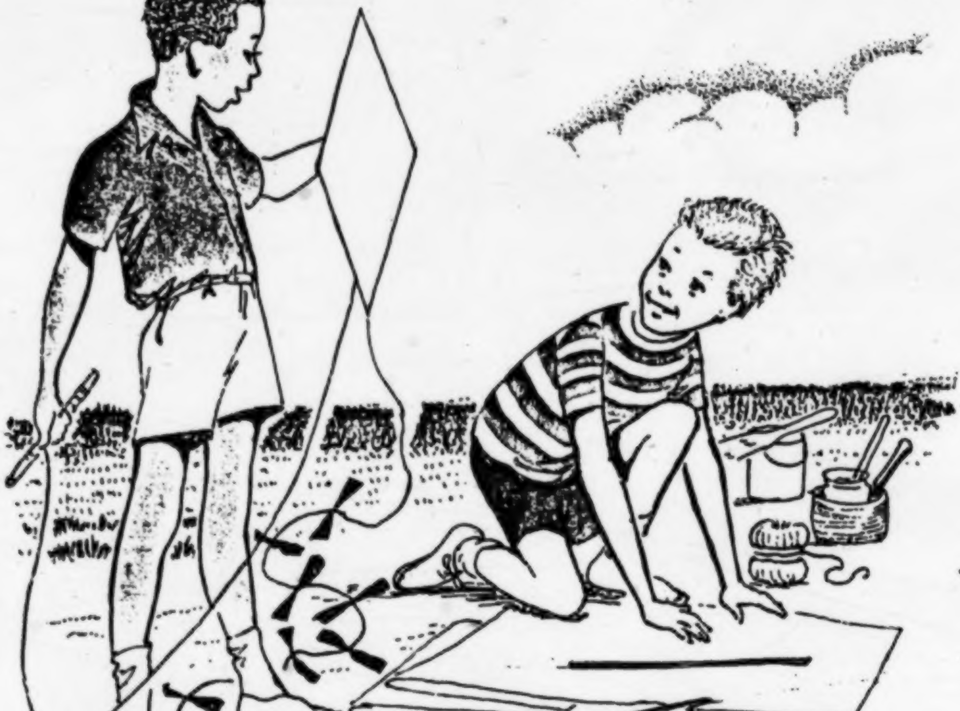


155



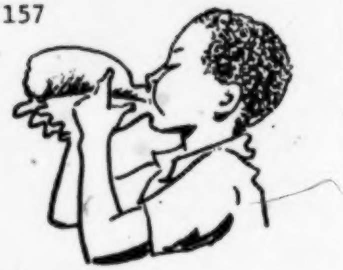
Activities for Boys.

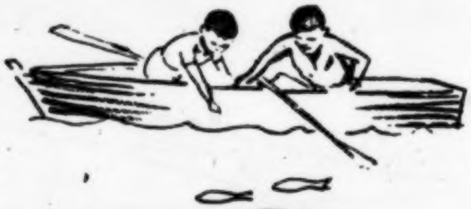
156



A KITE FOR DAVID

157





158

Joy in 'Disneyworld'

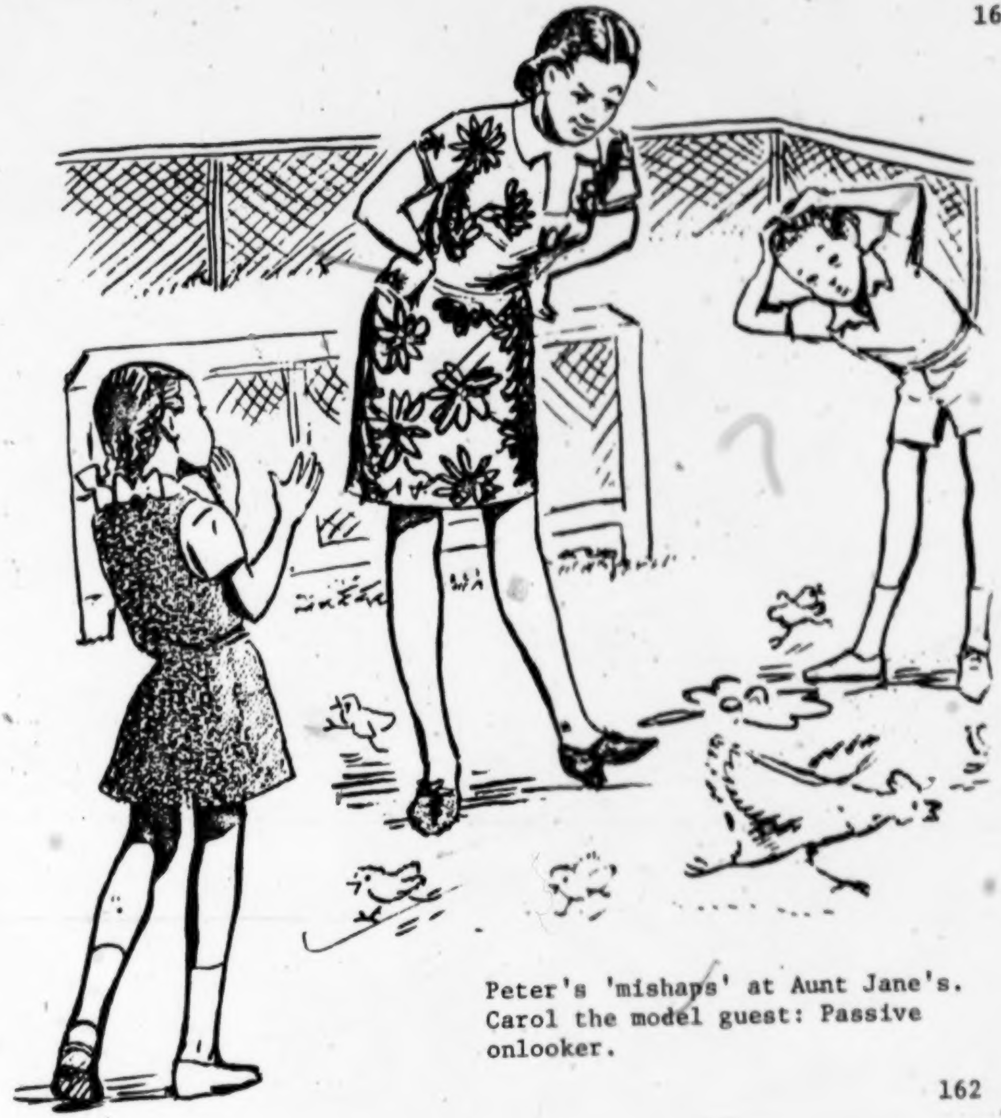
159

Peter riding on a Moon Beam.

160

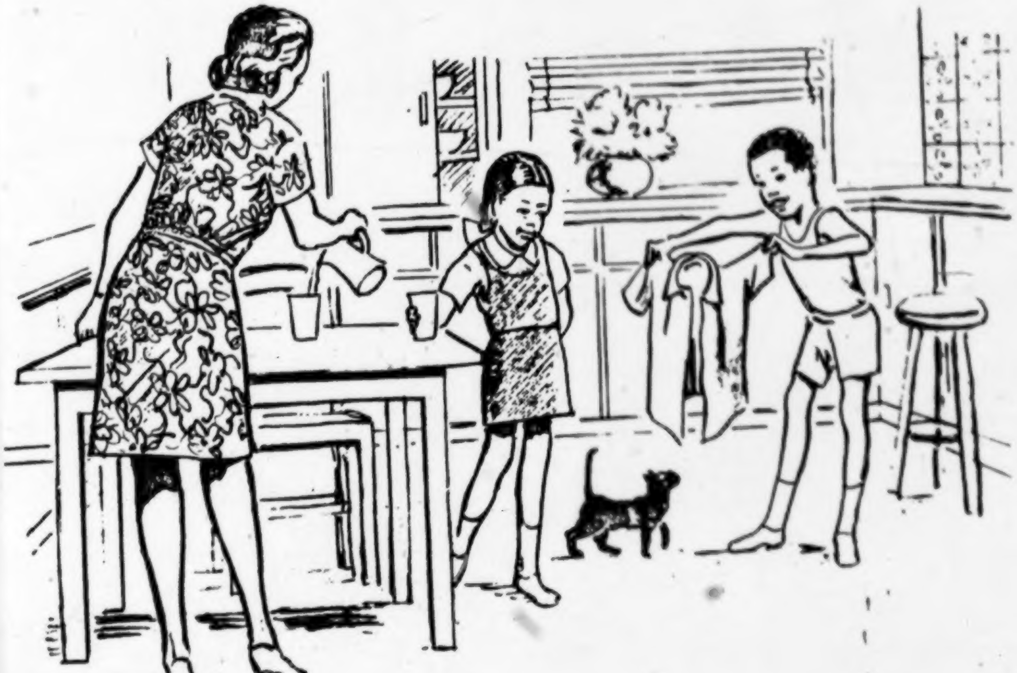
Children enjoying
Carnival Party at
School.

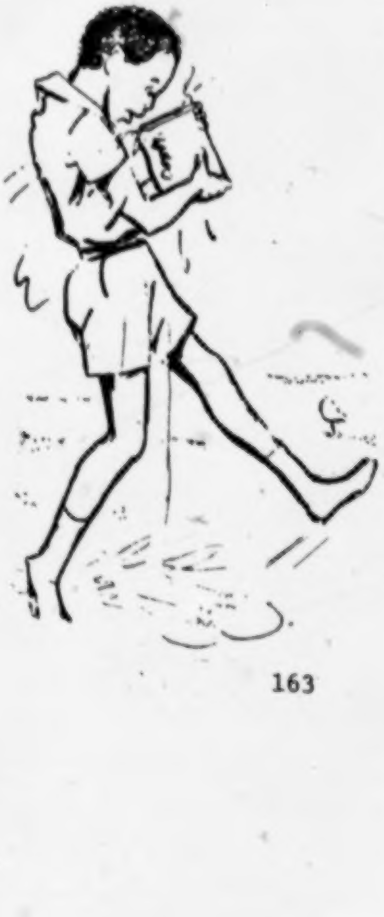
161



Peter's 'mishaps' at Aunt Jane's.
Carol the model guest: Passive
onlooker.

162





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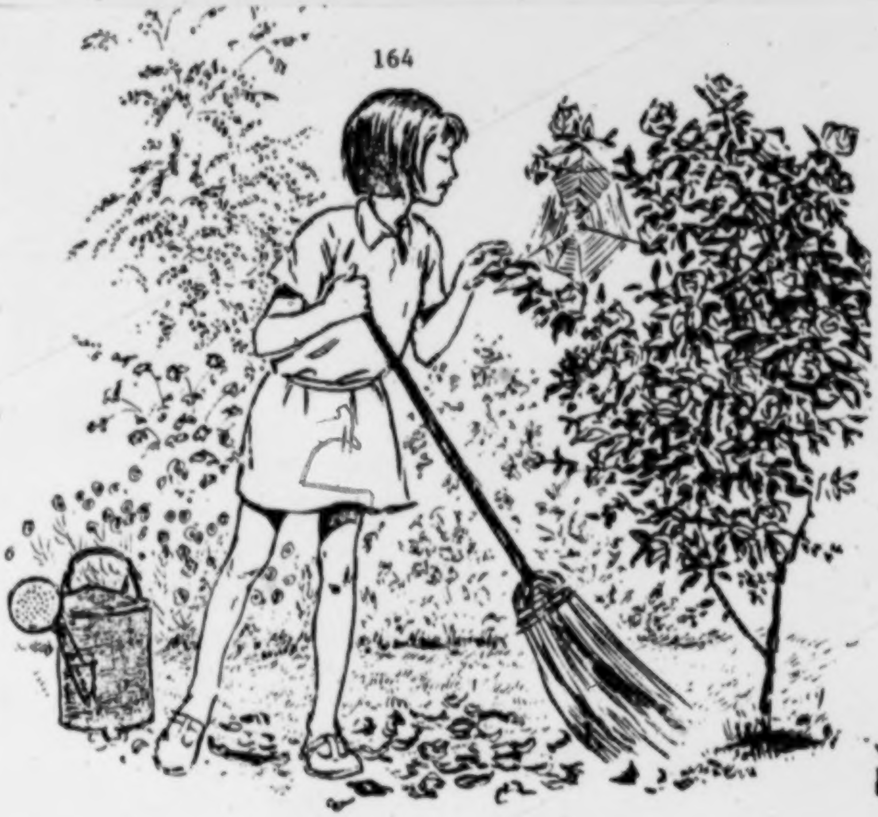

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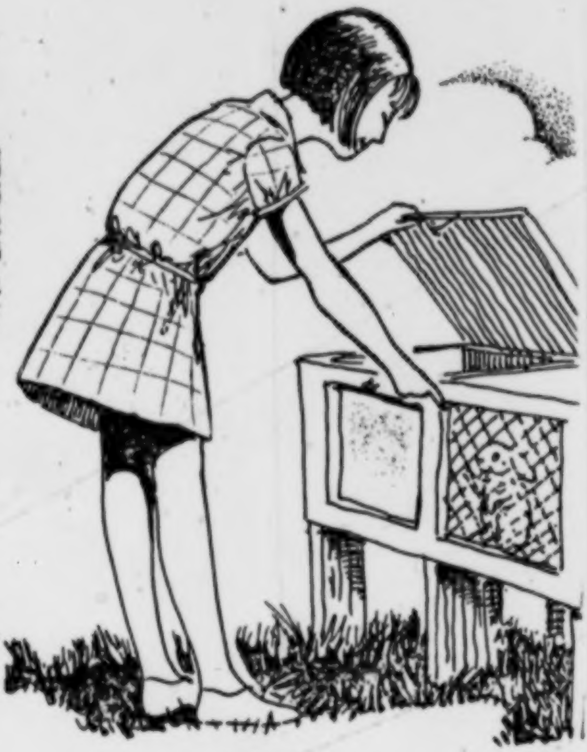
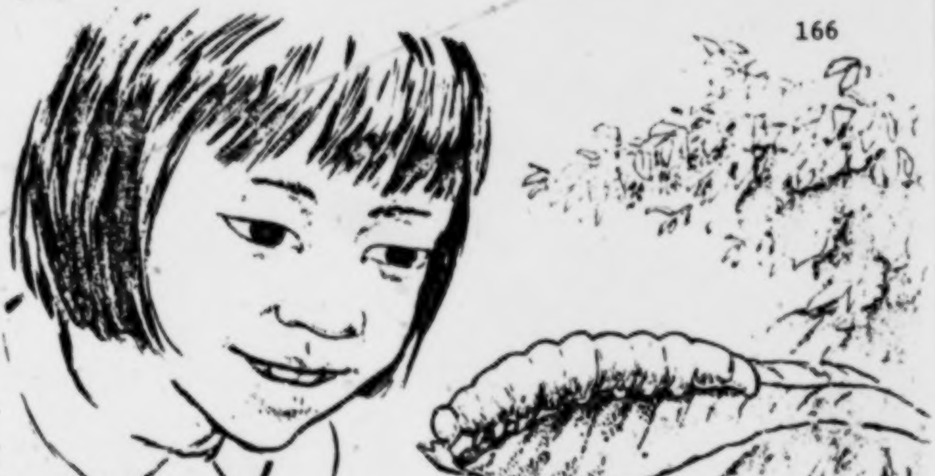


165

376

LOOKING AT THINGS

Nature lessons at Home and at School.



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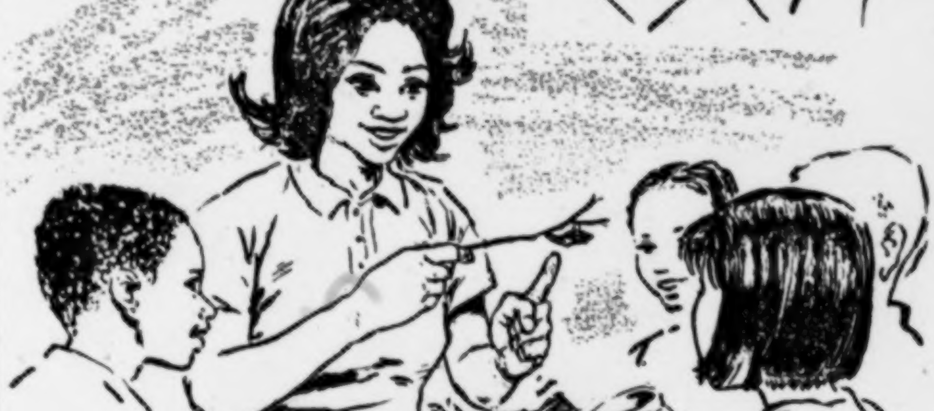
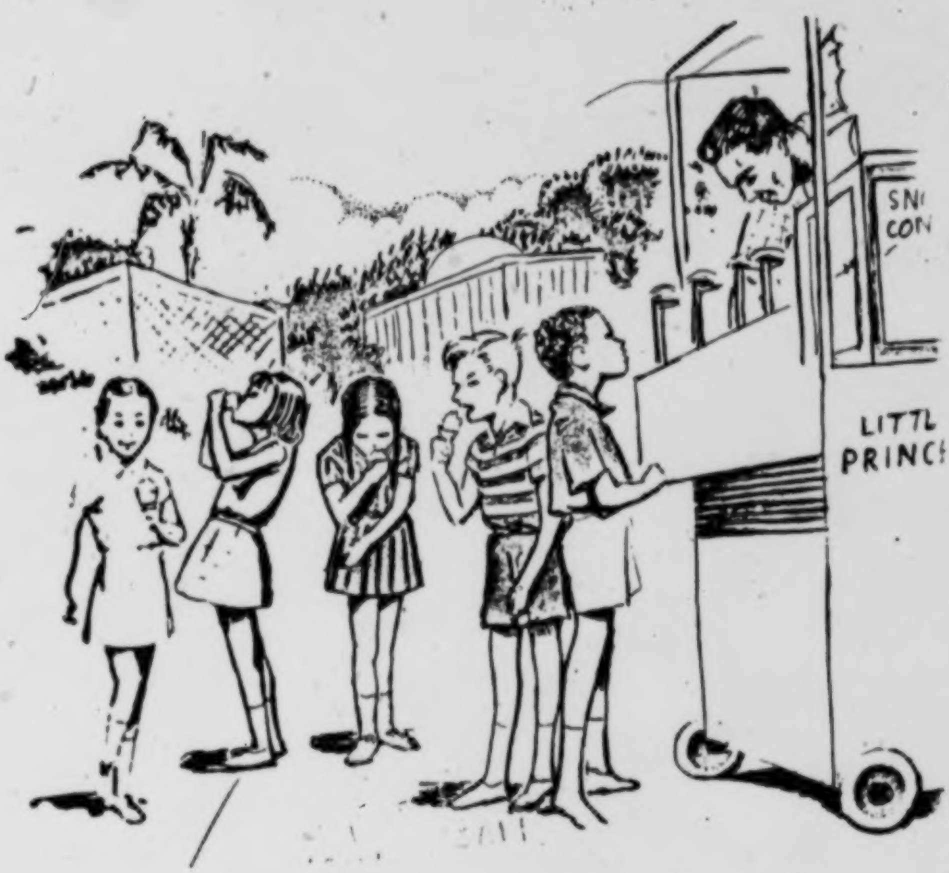


167

168


SN
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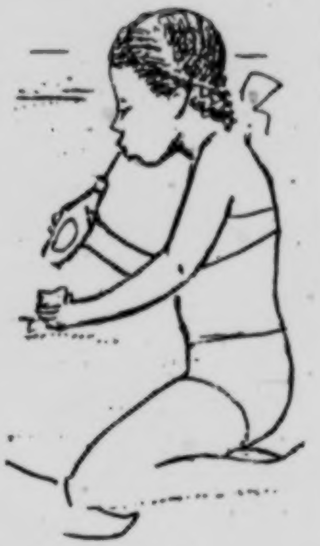
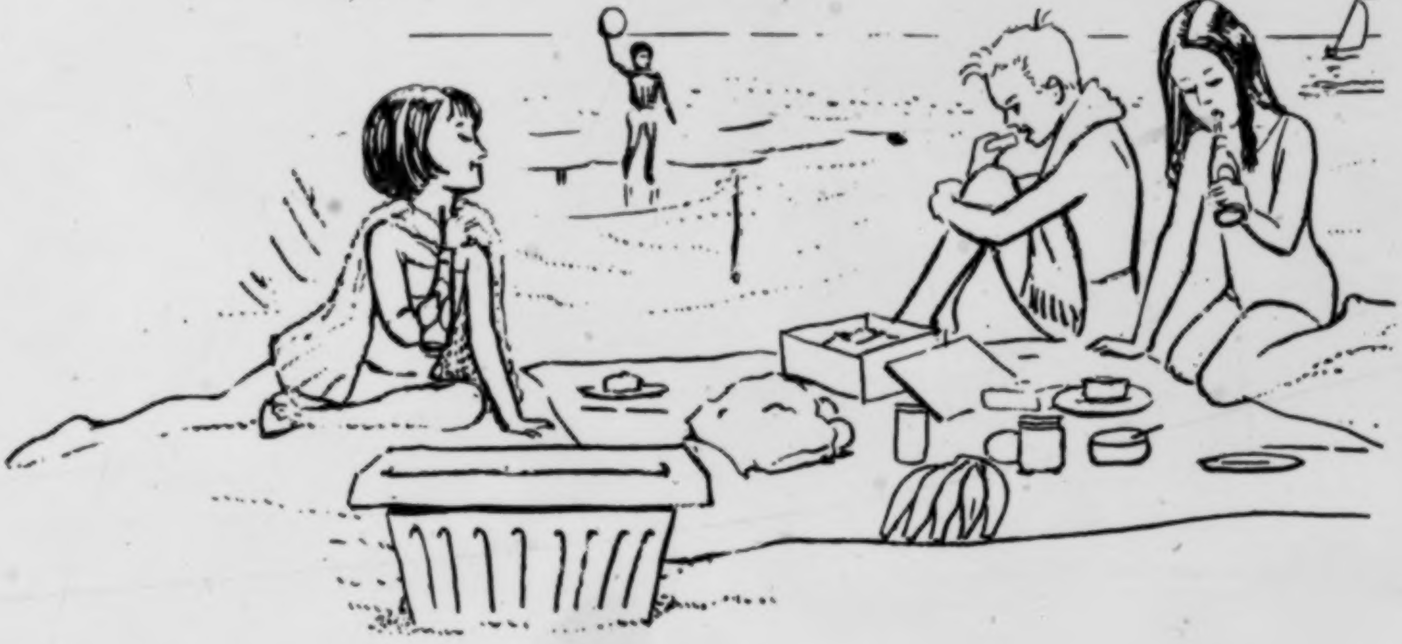
PRINC



Sentience: Children satisfying 'hunger and thirst' with relish.

169



APPENDIX I.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

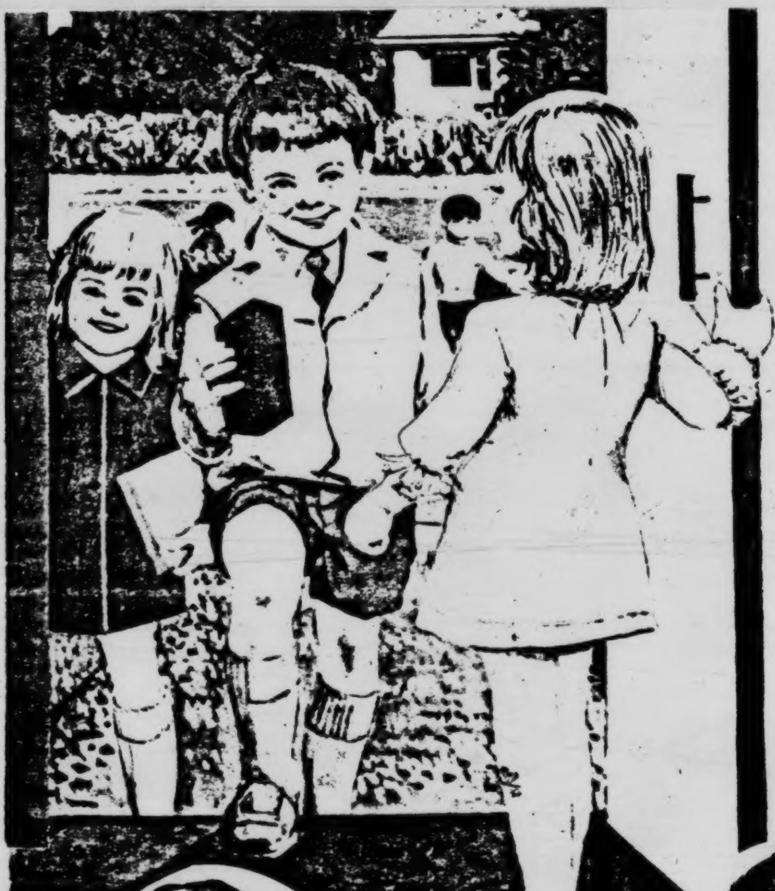
READER 9: OLIVER & BOYD'S HAPPY VENTURE SERIES.

APPENDIX I.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

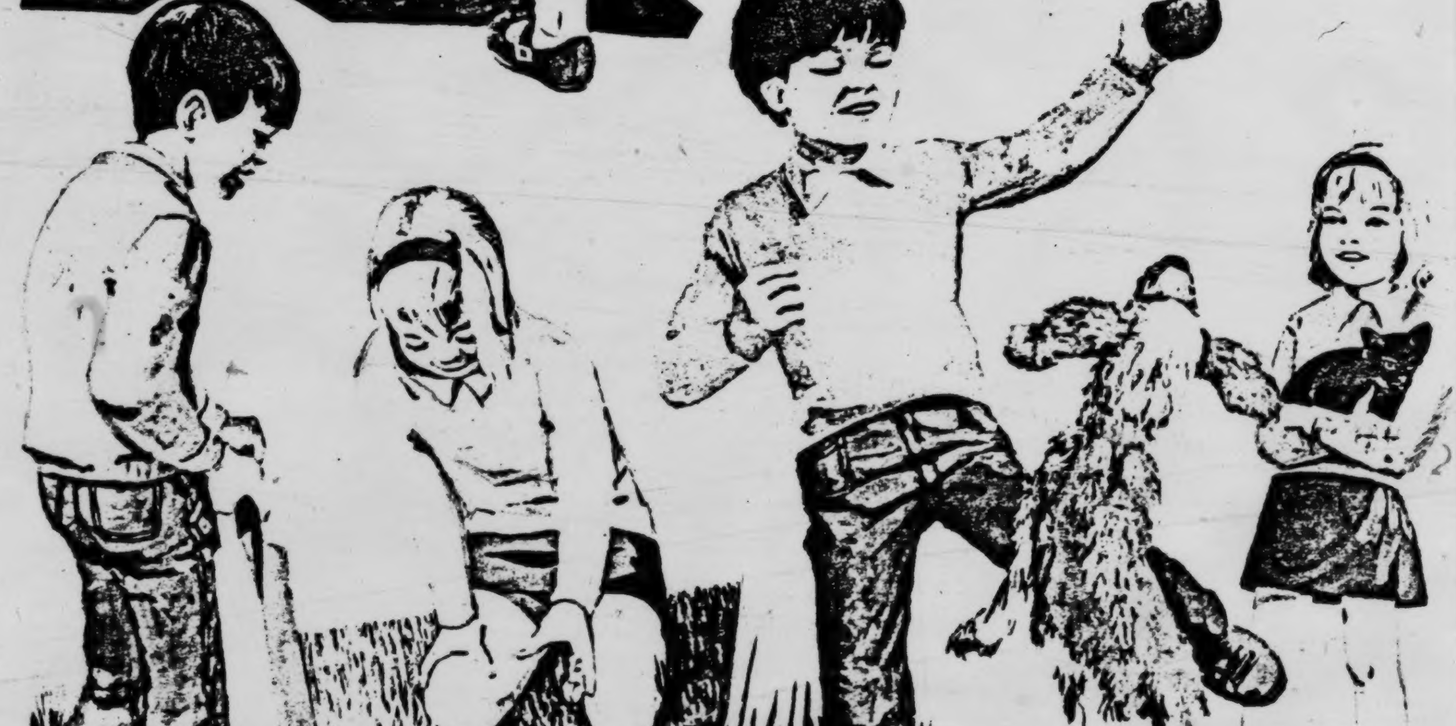
READER 9: OLIVER & BOYD'S HAPPY VENTURE SERIES.

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
379	170	covers I, II, III
380	171	20 I
	172	17 I
	173	16 II
	174	24 I
	175	24 I
	176	18 I
381	177	28 I
	178	29 I
	179	19 I
	180	21 I
	181	22 I
	182	32 I
382	183	4 II
	184	19 III
	185	25 I
	186	40 III
	187	41 III
383	188	1 III
	189	26 III
	190	14 II
384	191	48 II



THE HAPPY VENTURE SERIES.

NB: Males Active
Females Passive



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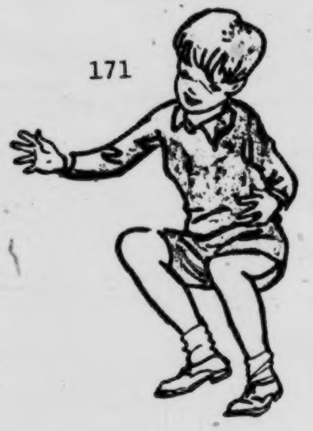

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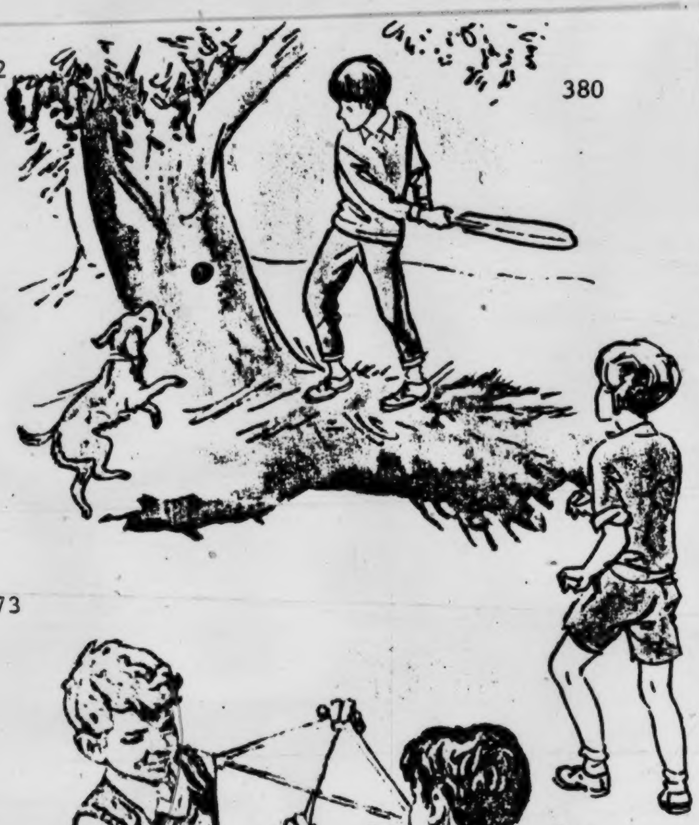
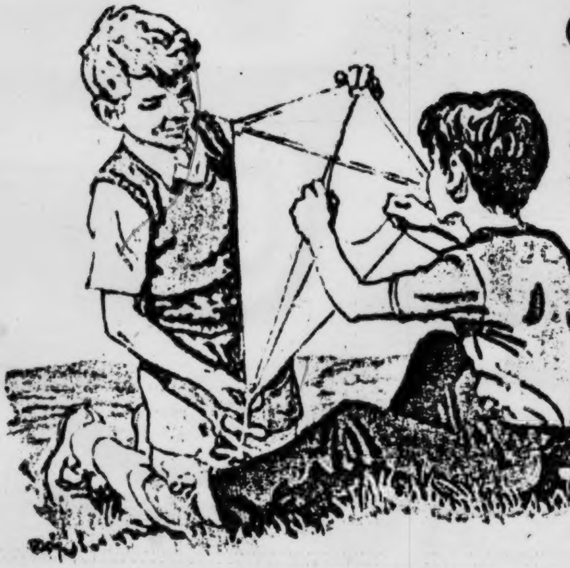


Images of Boy's Activities

173



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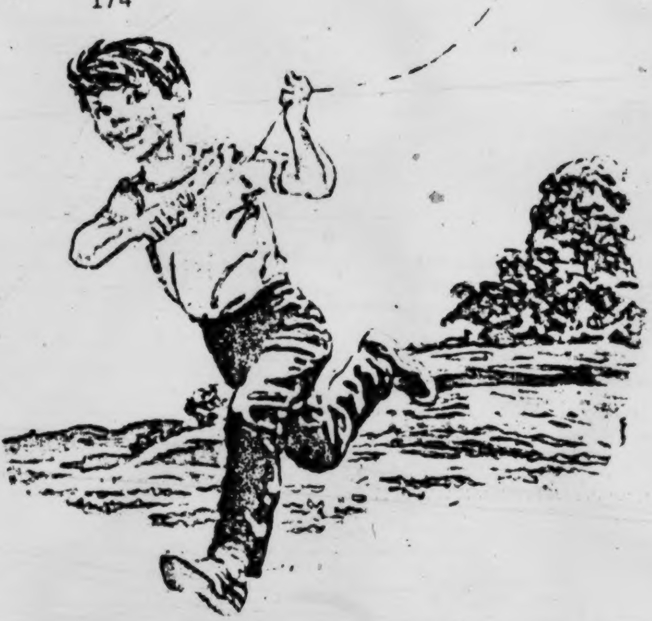
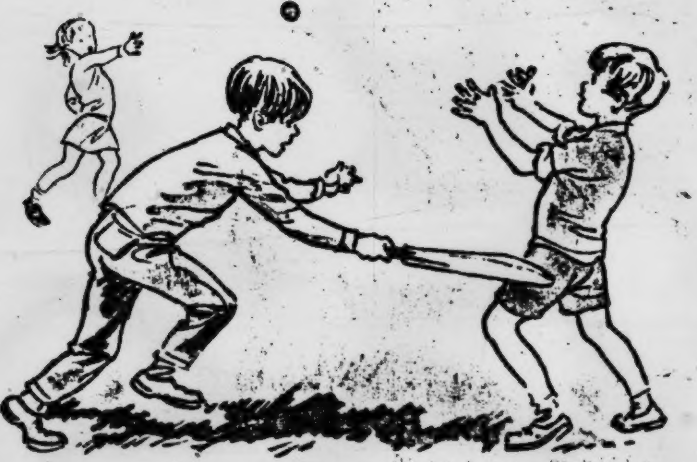


My Kite

176



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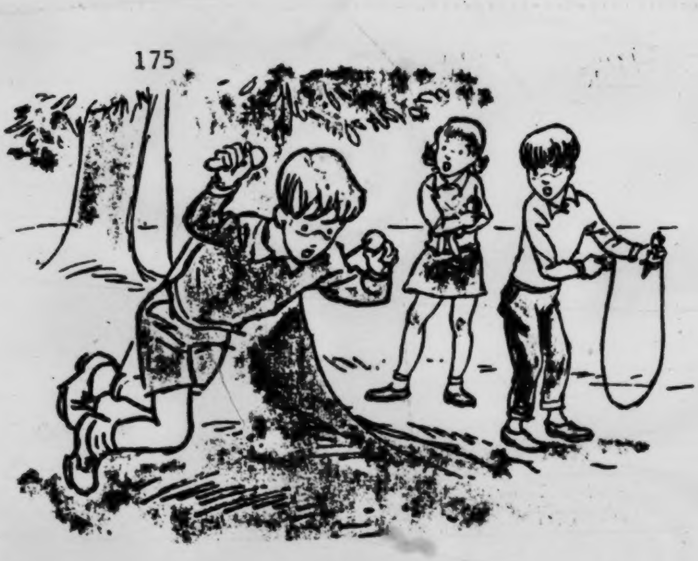

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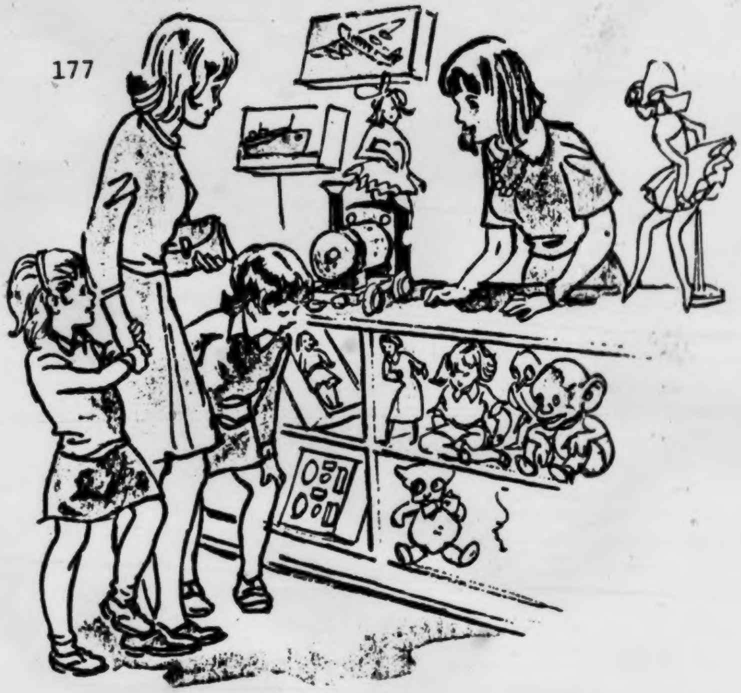

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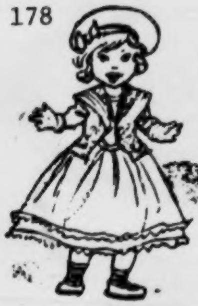

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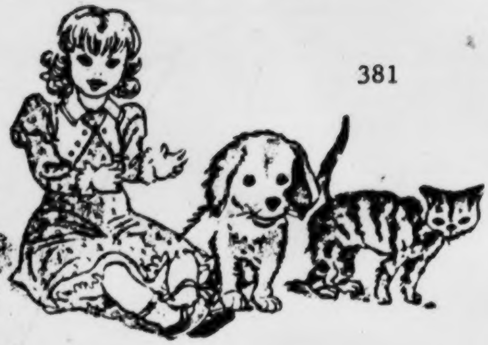

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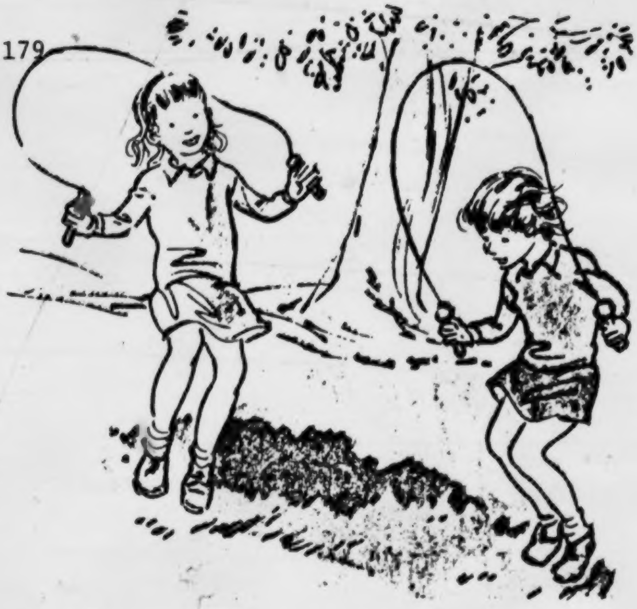

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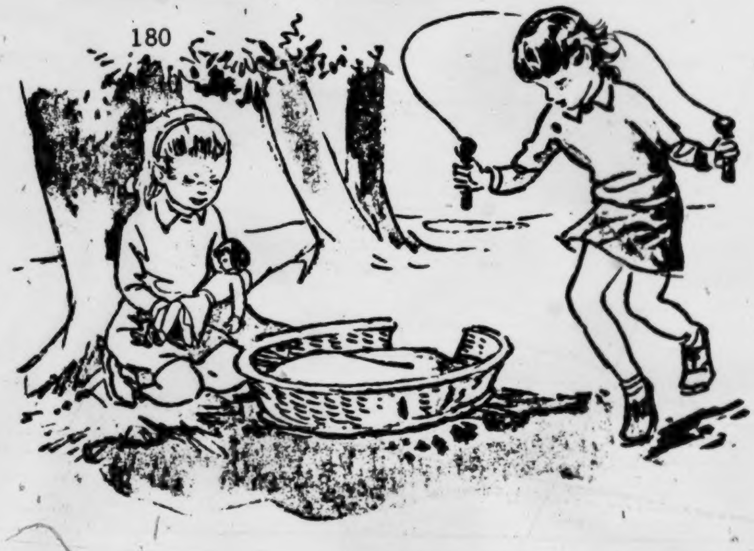

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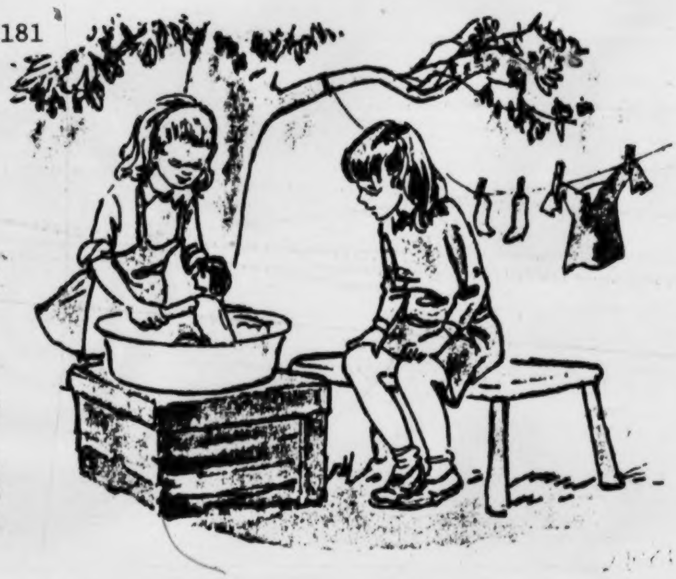

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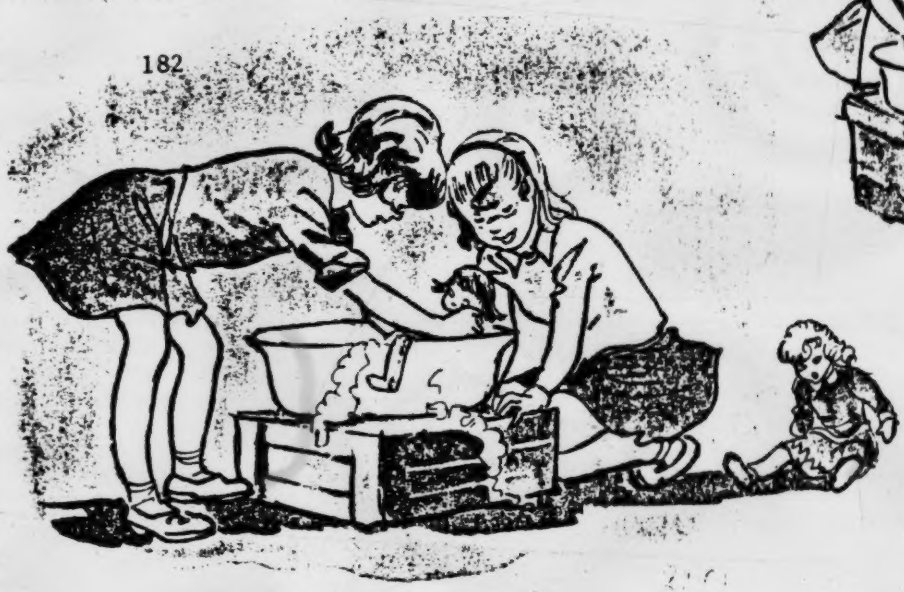
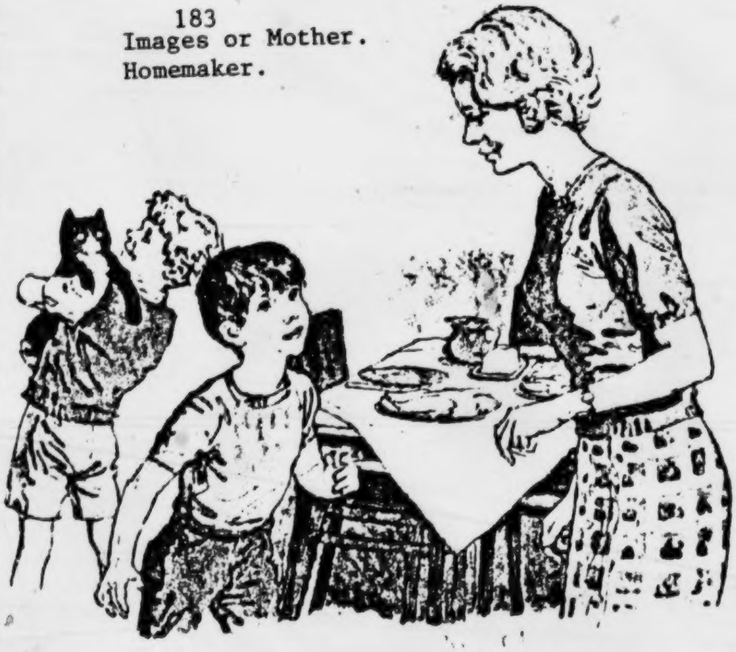
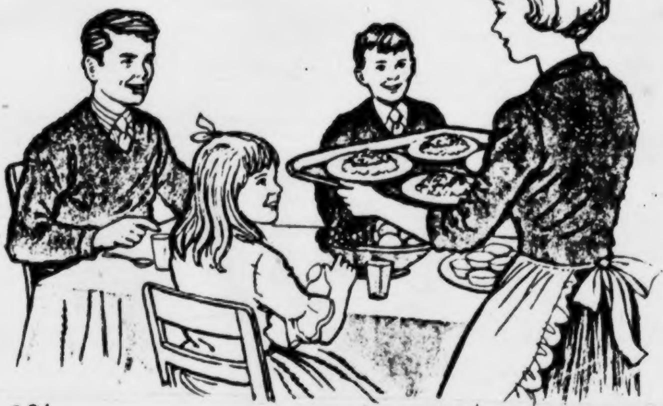


Images of Girl's Activities.

183
Images or Mother.
Homemaker.





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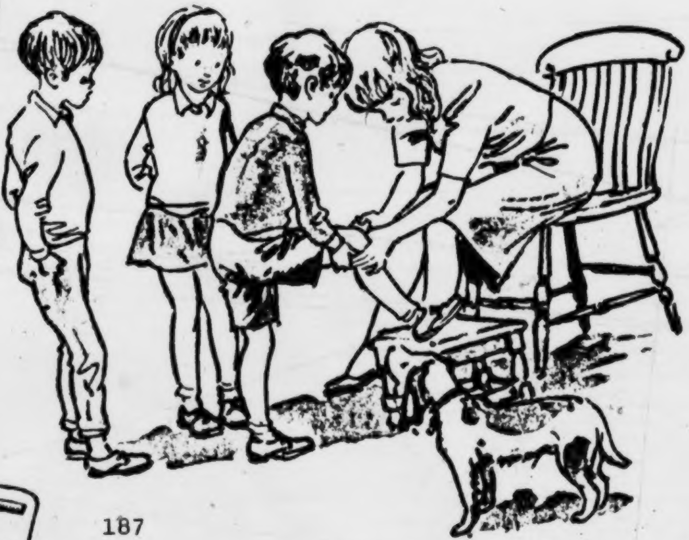
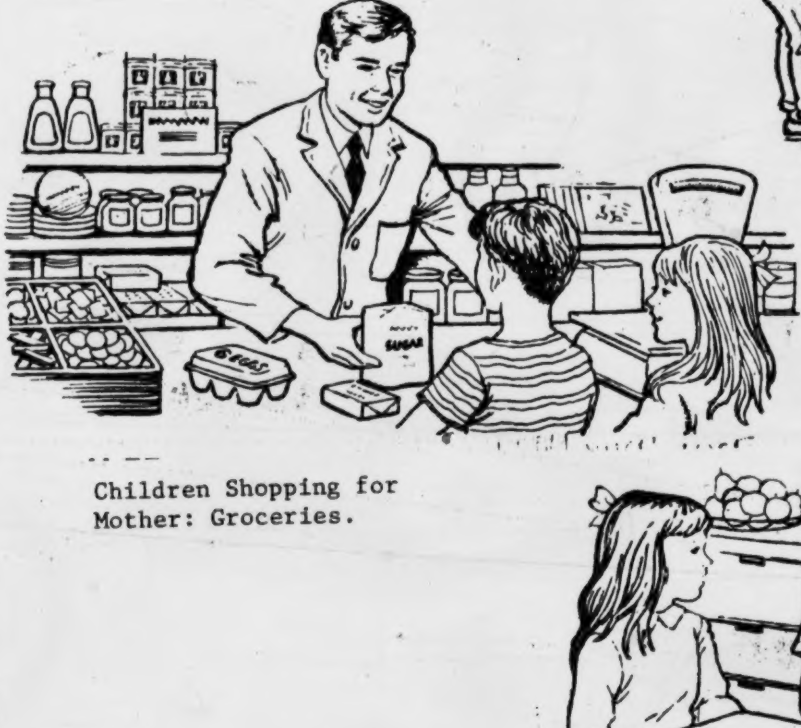
185



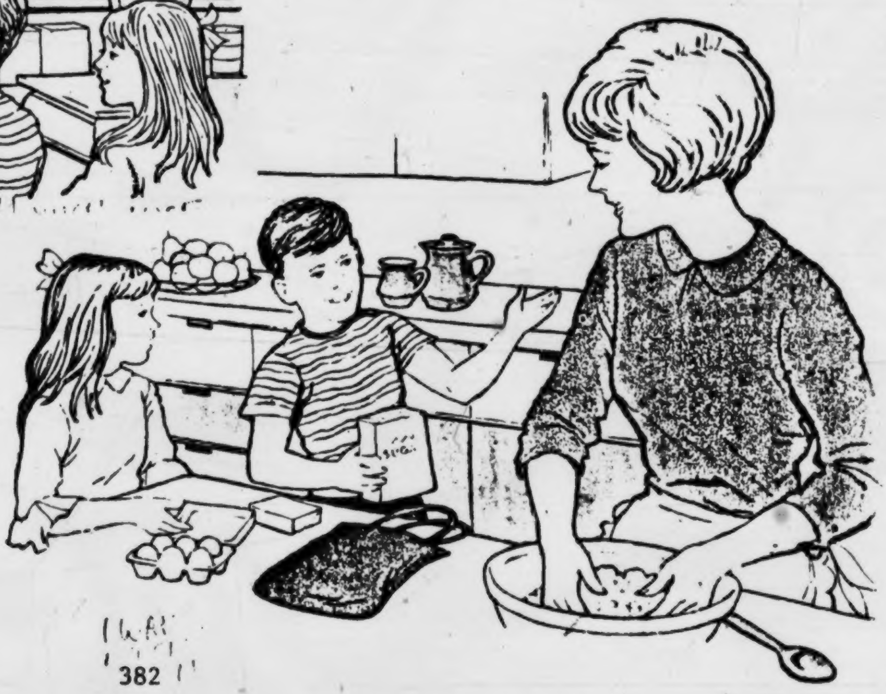
Eggs for Tea

186



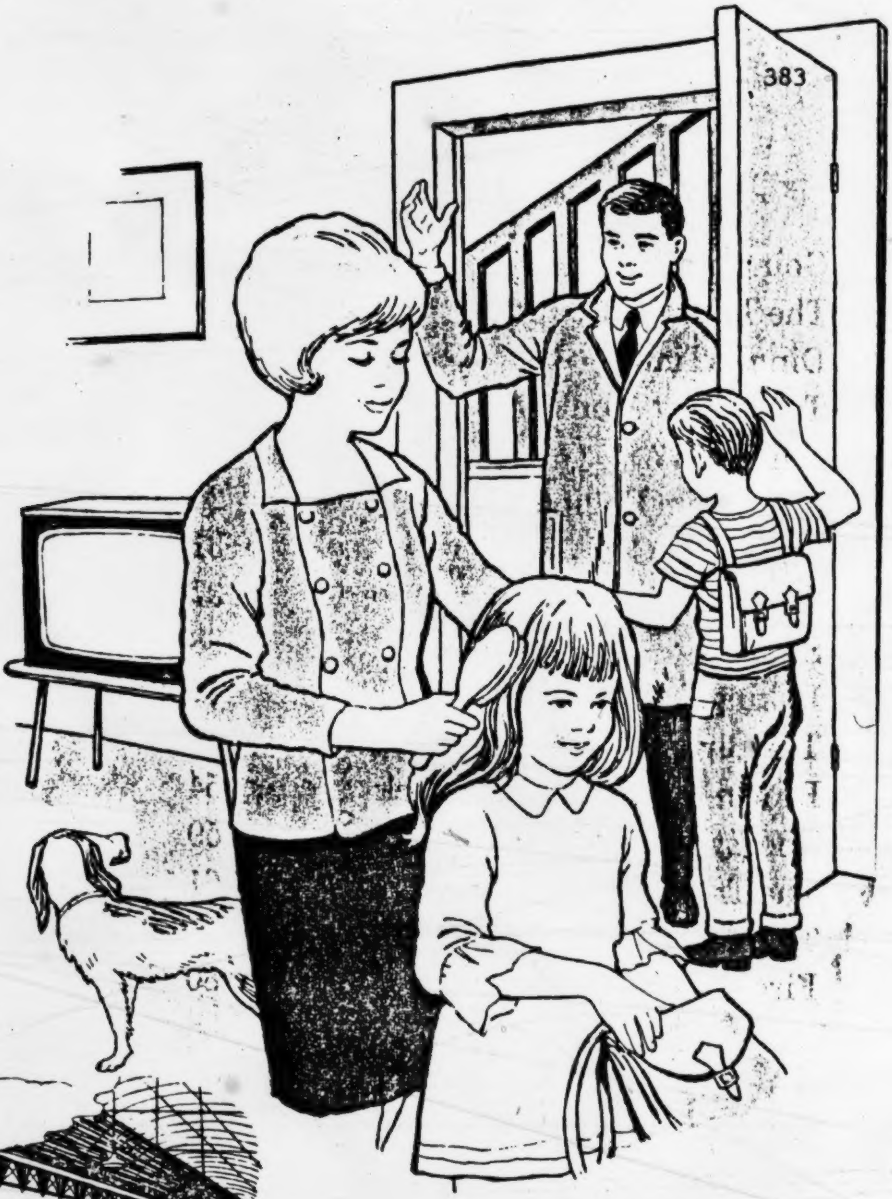
Children Shopping for
Mother: Groceries.

187



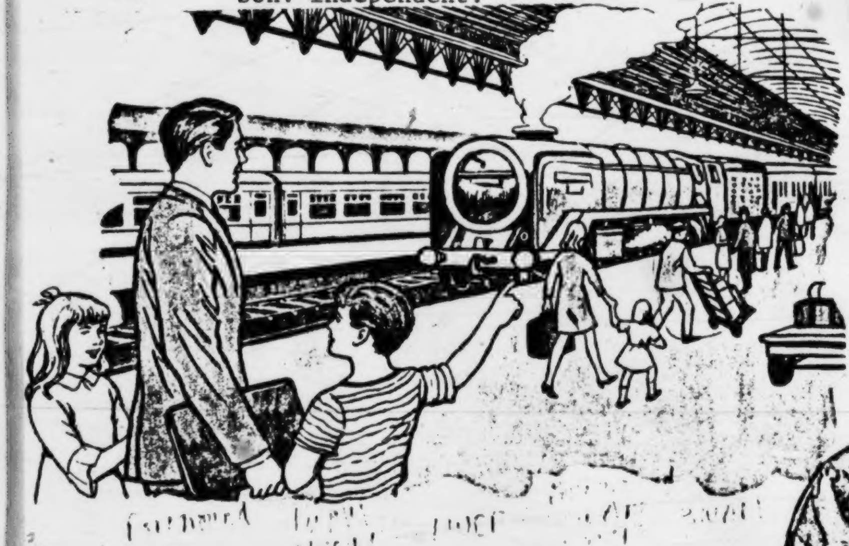
Baking Day

188



Mother attending to
daughter's appearance.
Dependency implied.
Son: independent.

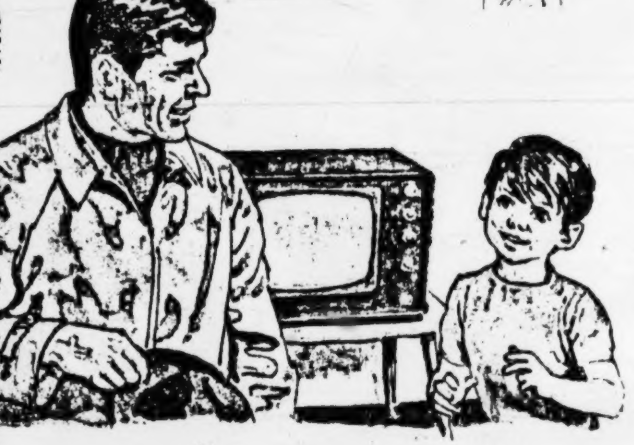
189



The Steam Engine

Images of Father..

190

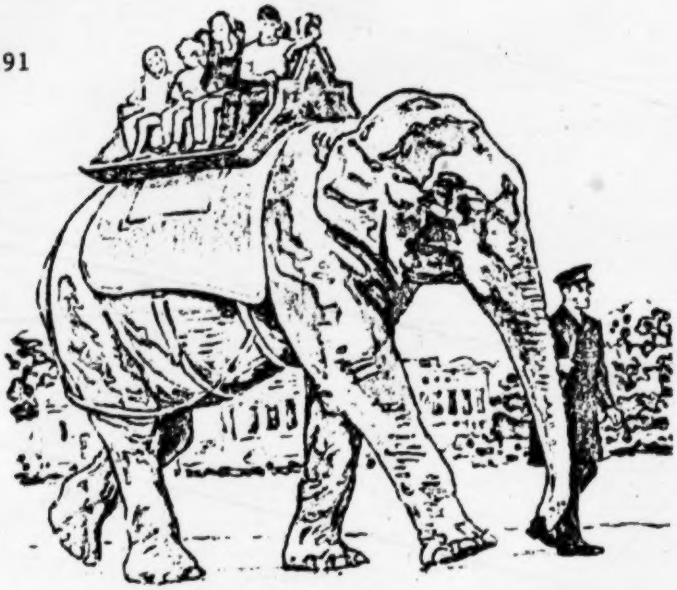


Dick's Toy

APPENDIX I (Continued)

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
384	192	49 II
	193	28 III
	194	24 II
	195	3 III
385	196	72 III
	197	43 II
386	198	82 III
	199	29 III

191



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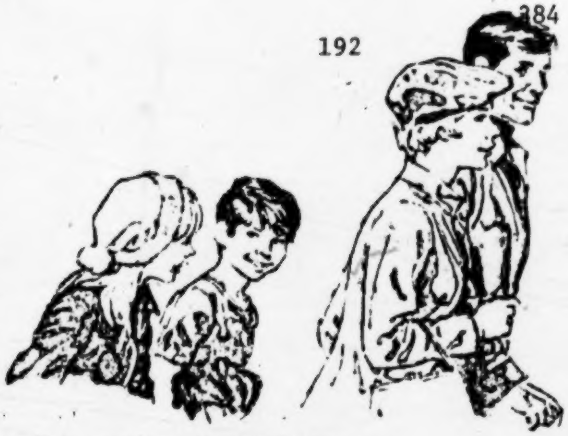
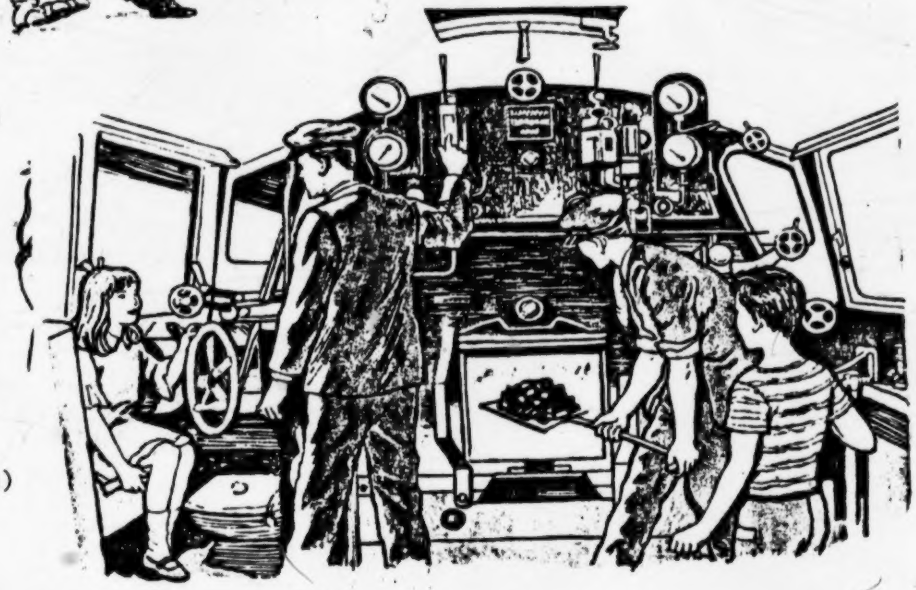


Family Outing to the Zoo:
(English Dress)

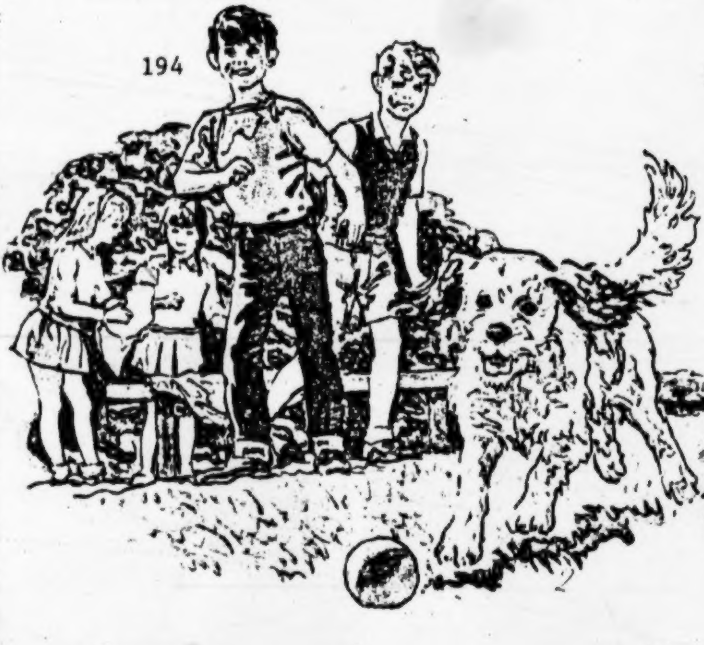
An Elephant Ride:
Attendant in regent
coat.

193



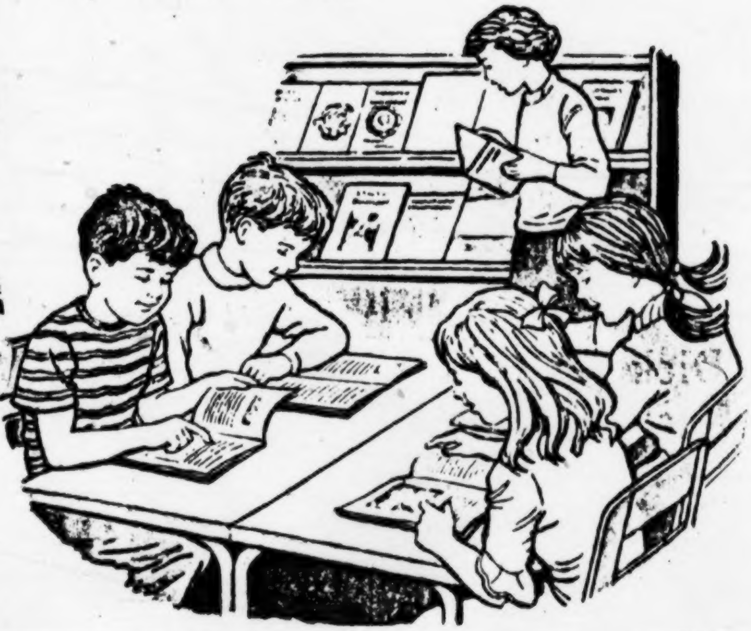
Enginemen showing the
Children over the
Steam Engine.
(No Trains in Trinidad)

194



In the Park

195 Children Reading.



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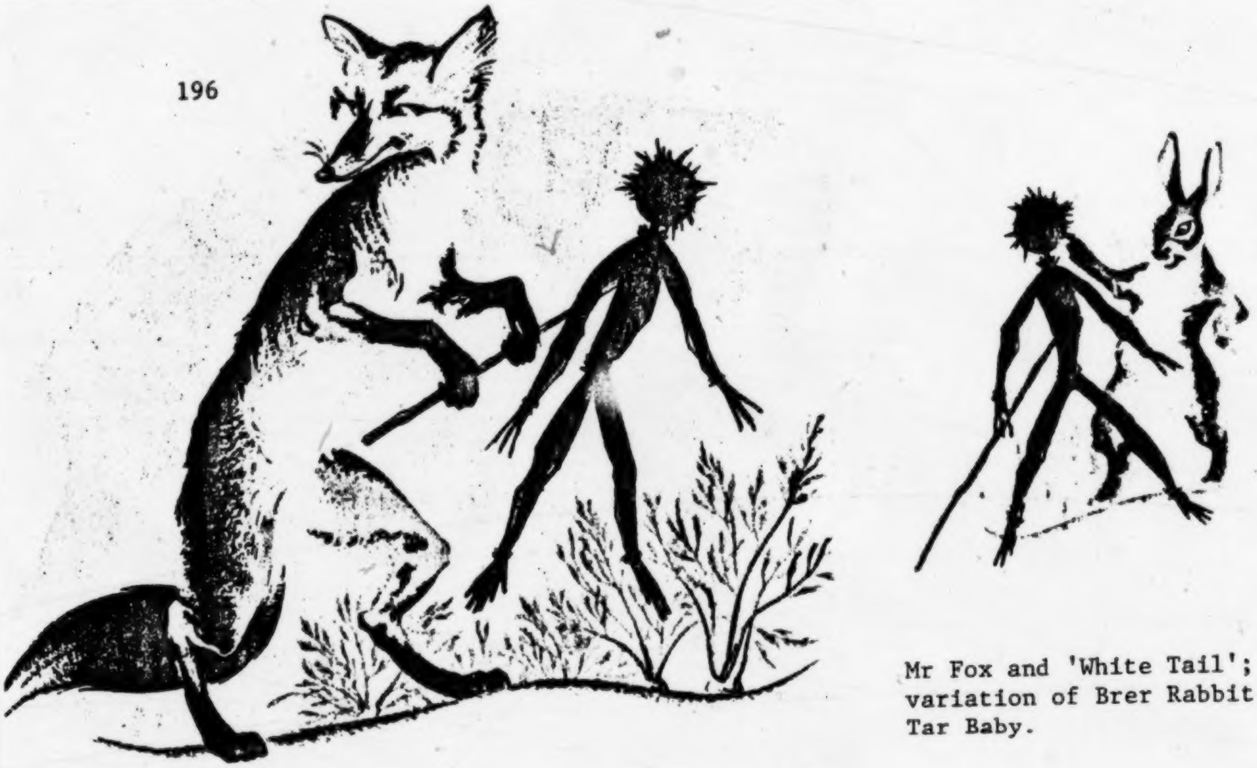
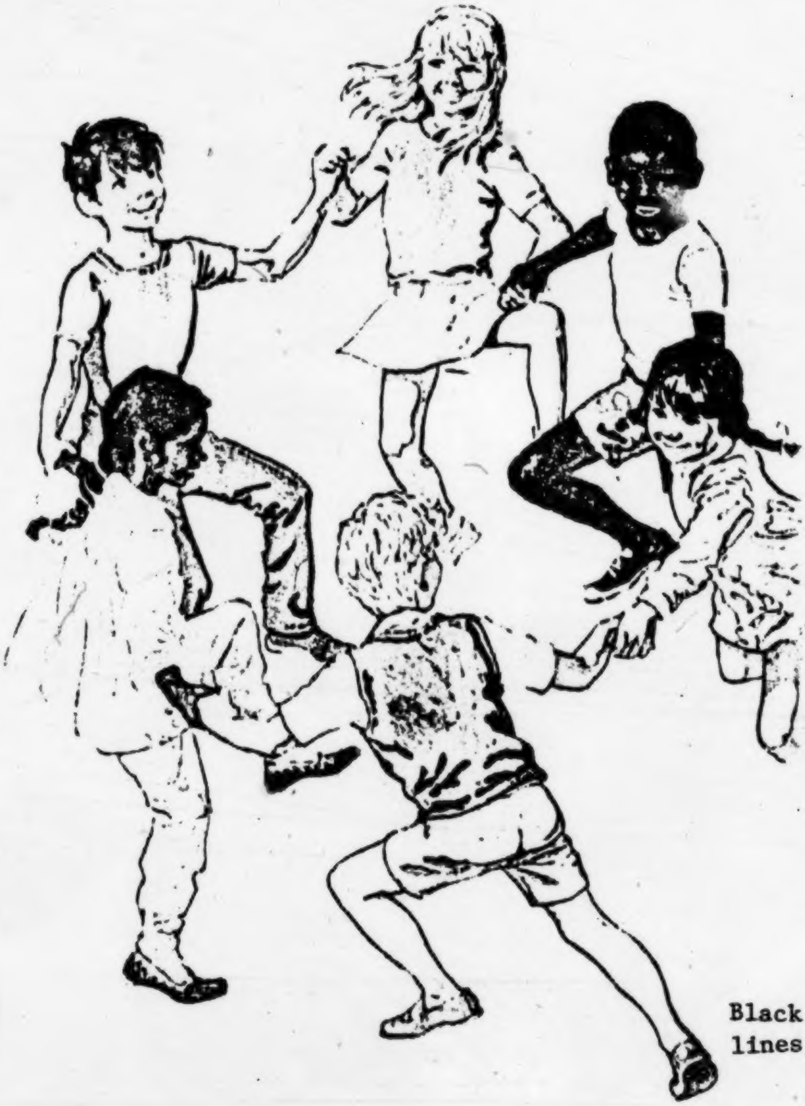


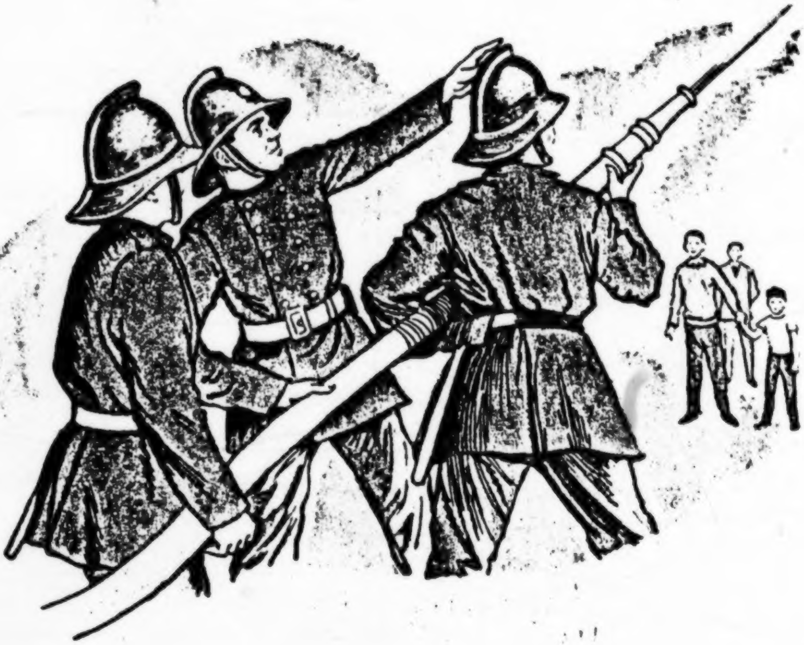
Mr Fox and 'White Tail'; a variation of Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby.

197



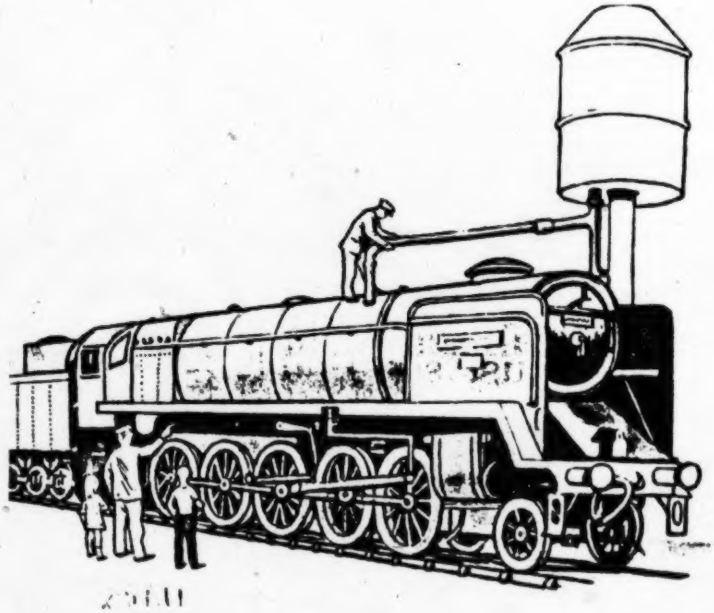
Black Tokens: they have no lines or stories.

198



Men at Work.

199



APPENDIX J.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

0

READER 10: NELSON'S NEW WEST INDIAN READERS.

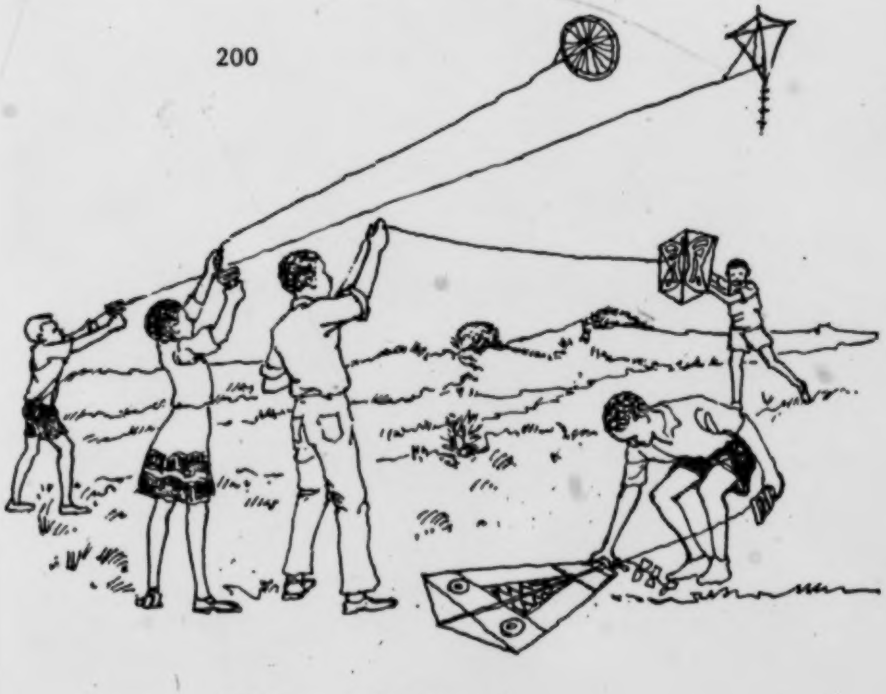
APPENDIX J.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

READER 10: NELSON'S NEW WEST INDIAN READERS

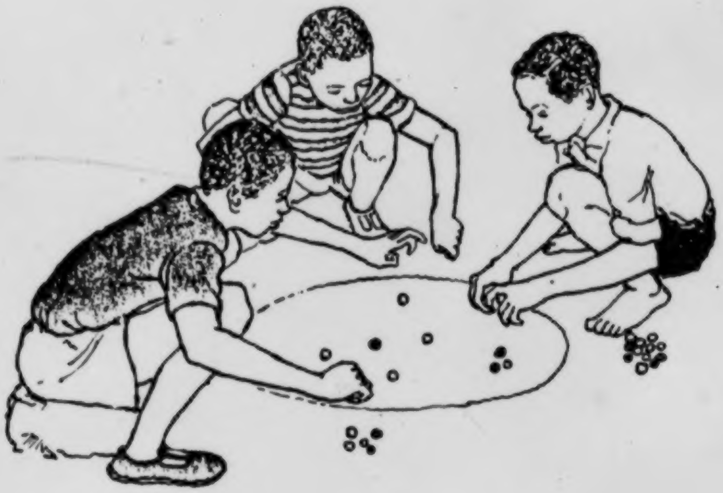
Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
388	200	16 III
	201	15 III
	202	13 III
389	203	96 II
	204	21 I
	205	50 - 1 I
390	206	97 II, 55 I, 36 III
391	207	15 II
	208	84-5 II
	209	94 III
	210	69 II
392	211	31 & 34 I
	212	64-5 III
393	213	142 III
	214	122 III
	215	133 III
394	216	144-5 III
	217	59 I
395	218	44 II
	219	91 II
	220	74 III
	221	102 III

200



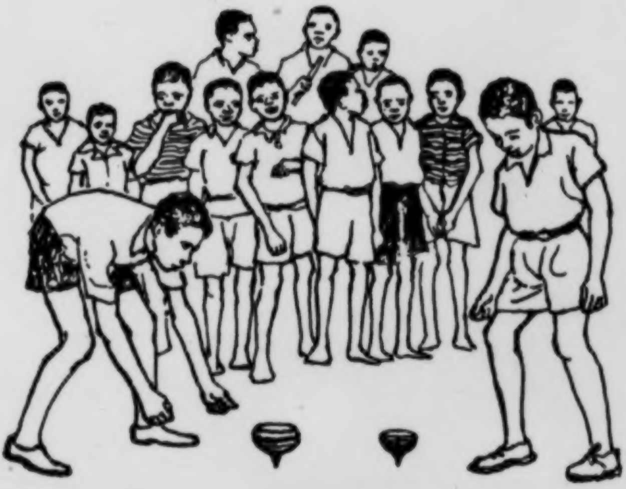
4 Kite Flying

201



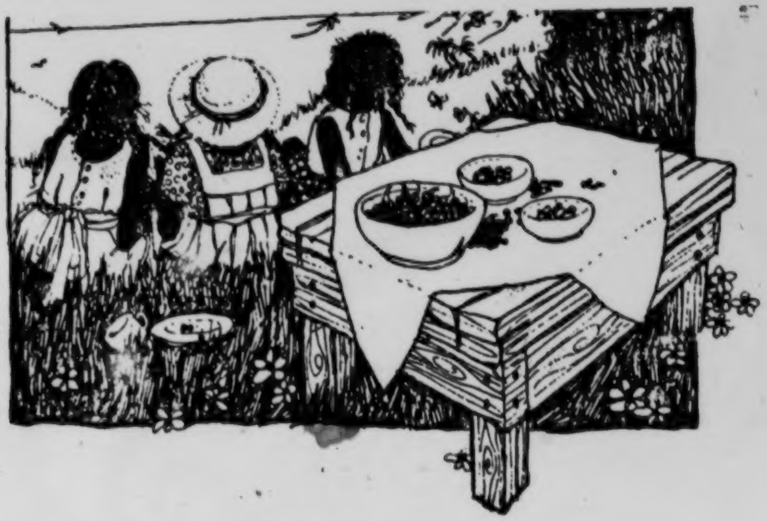
A Game of Marbles

202



Top Spinning.

203



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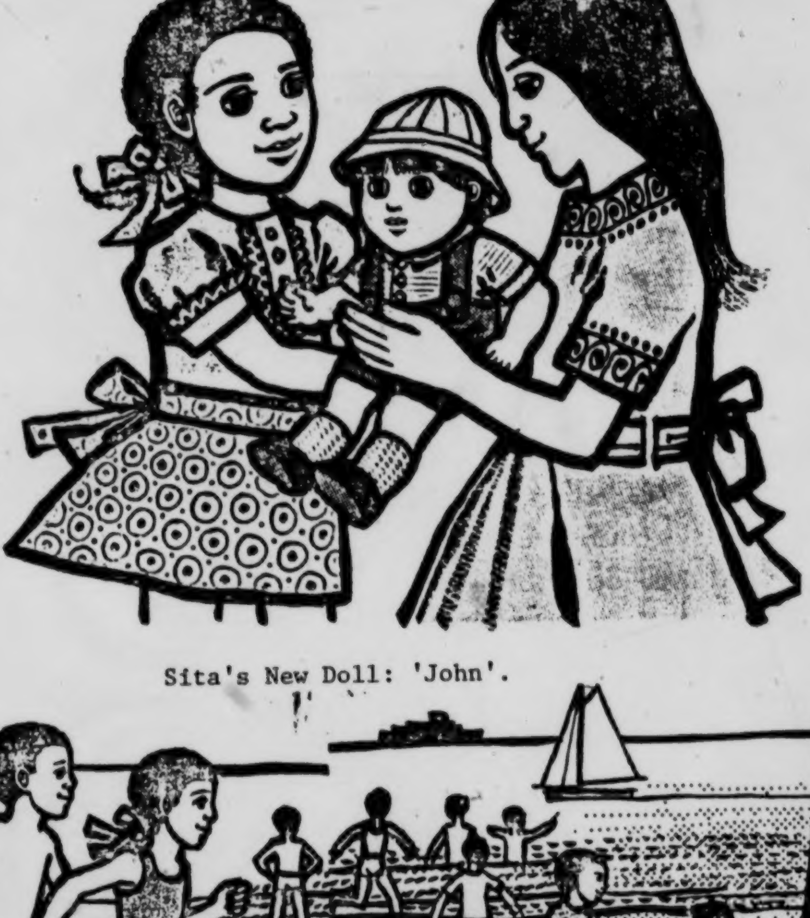
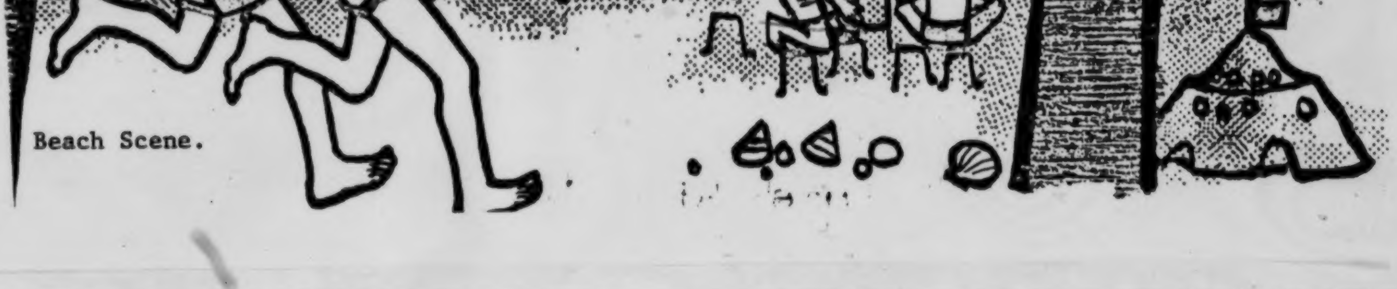


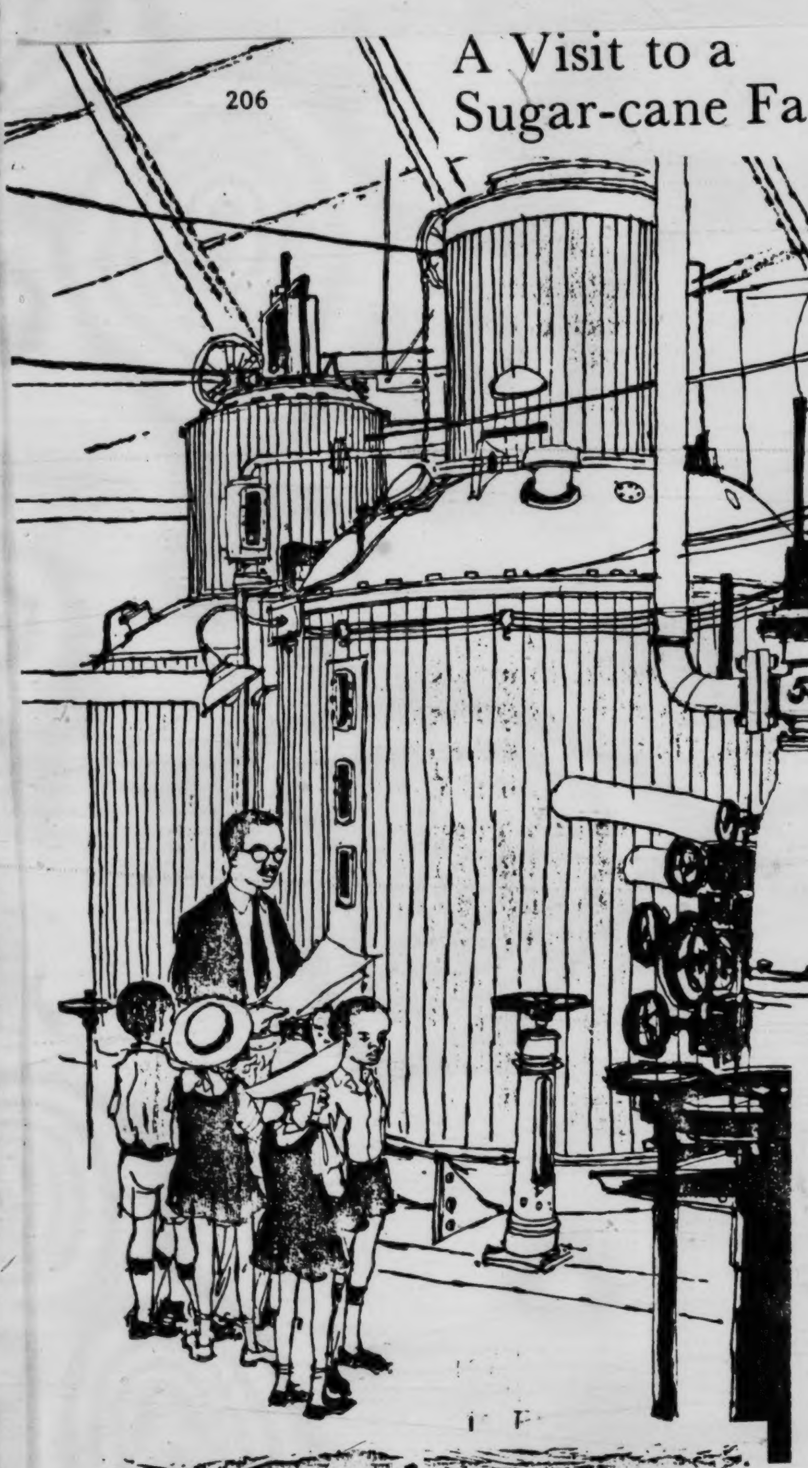
Sita's New Doll: 'John'.

205



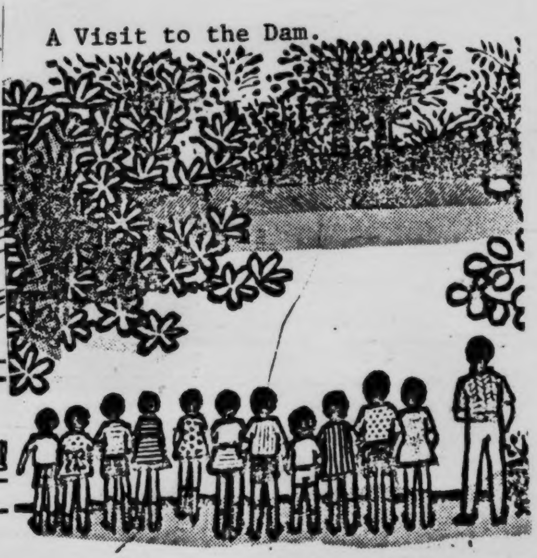
Beach Scene.

A Visit to a Sugar-cane Factory

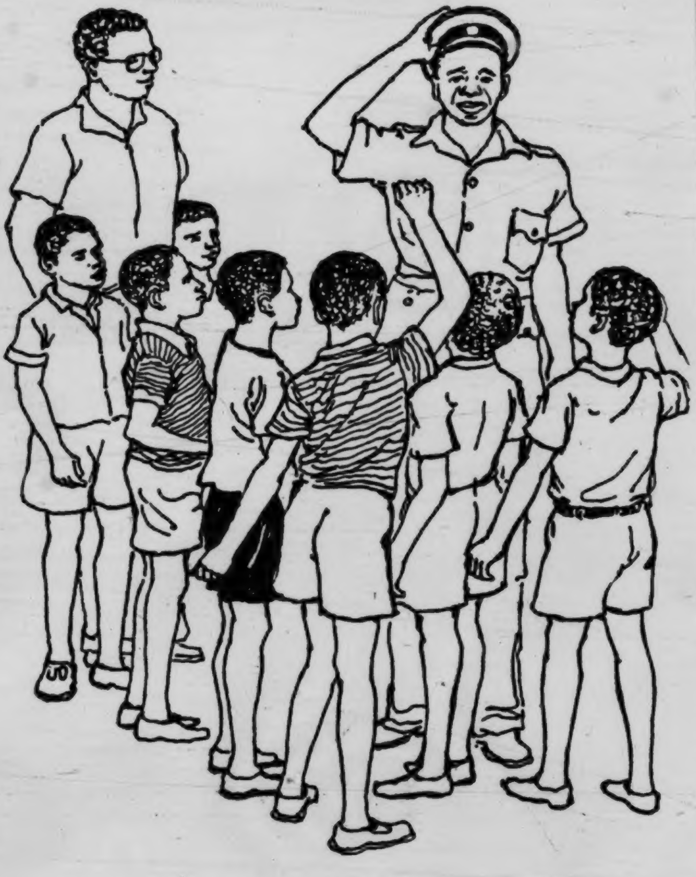


SCHOOL OUTINGS.

A Visit to the Dam.

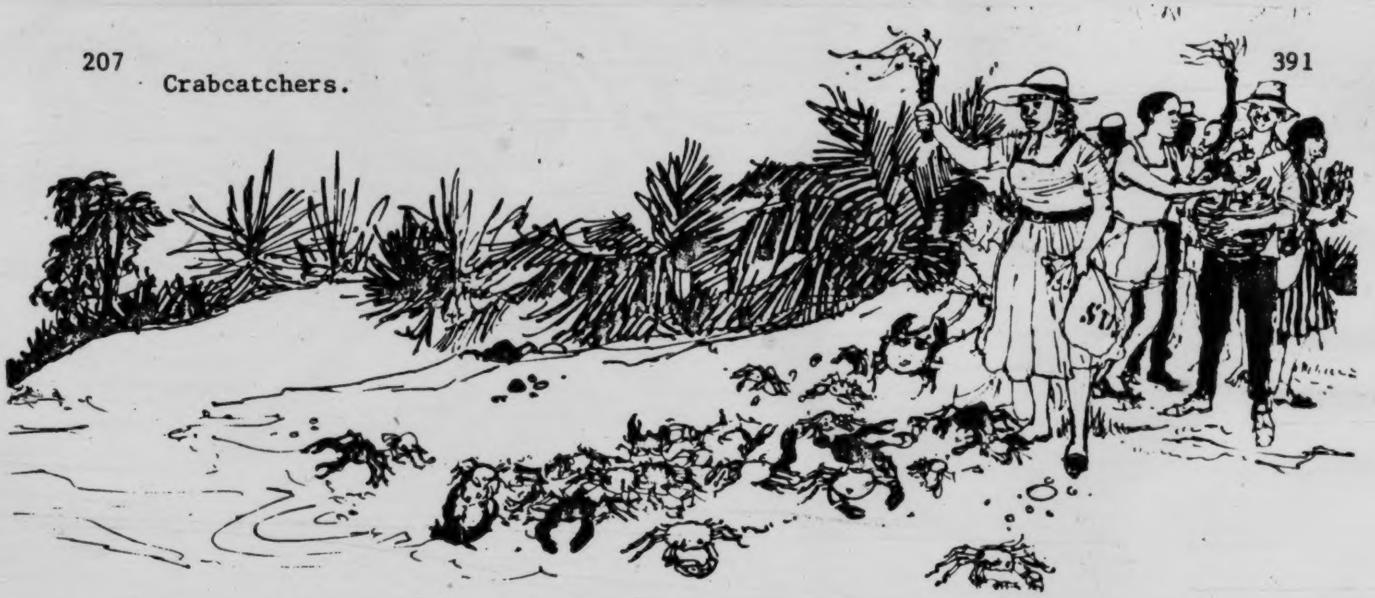


A Visit to the Harbor.



207

Crabcatchers.



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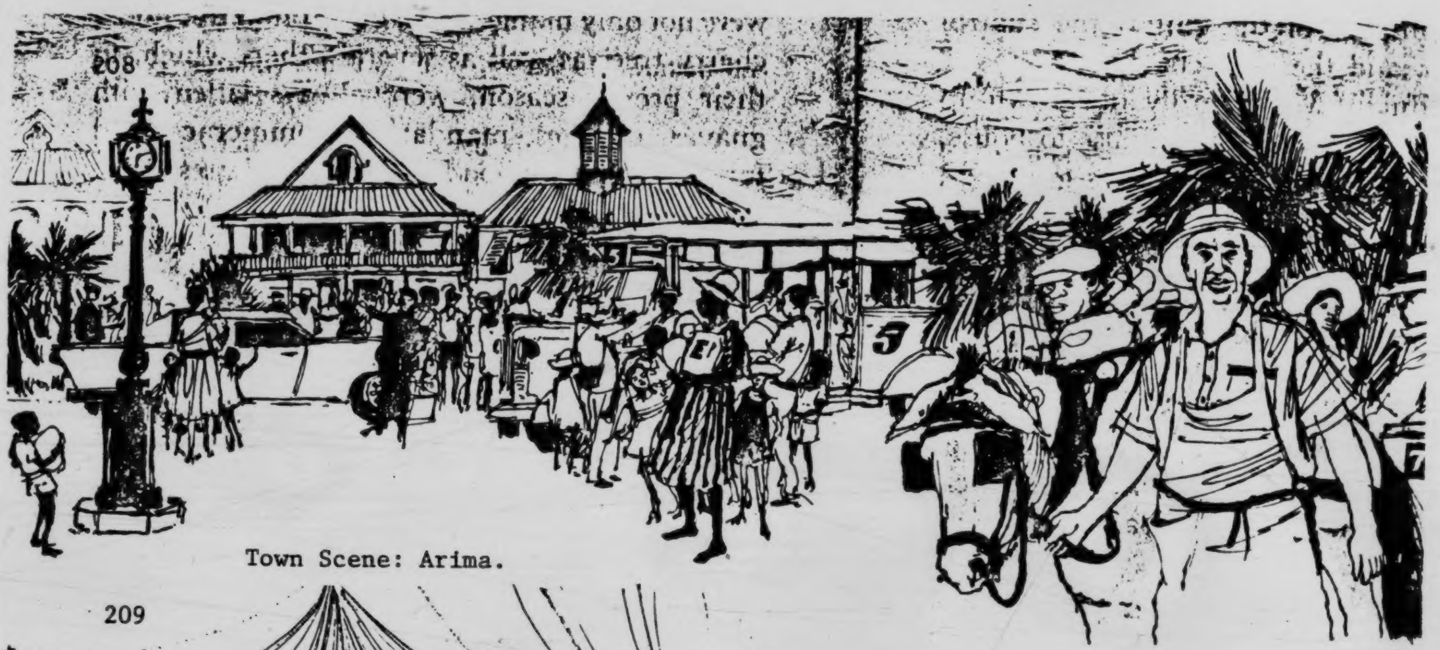
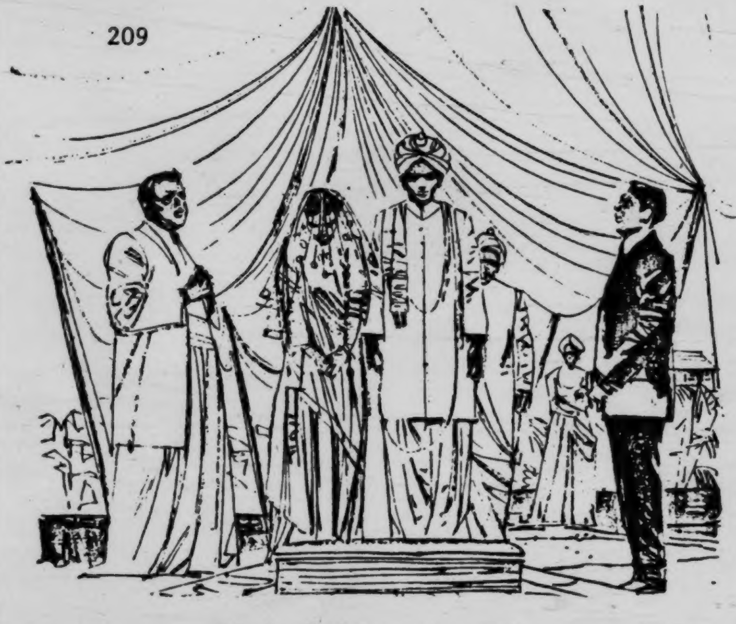


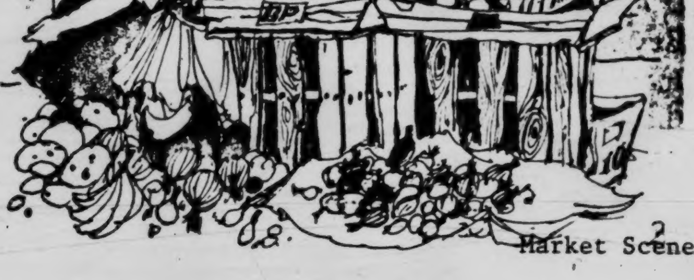
Town Scene: Arima.

209

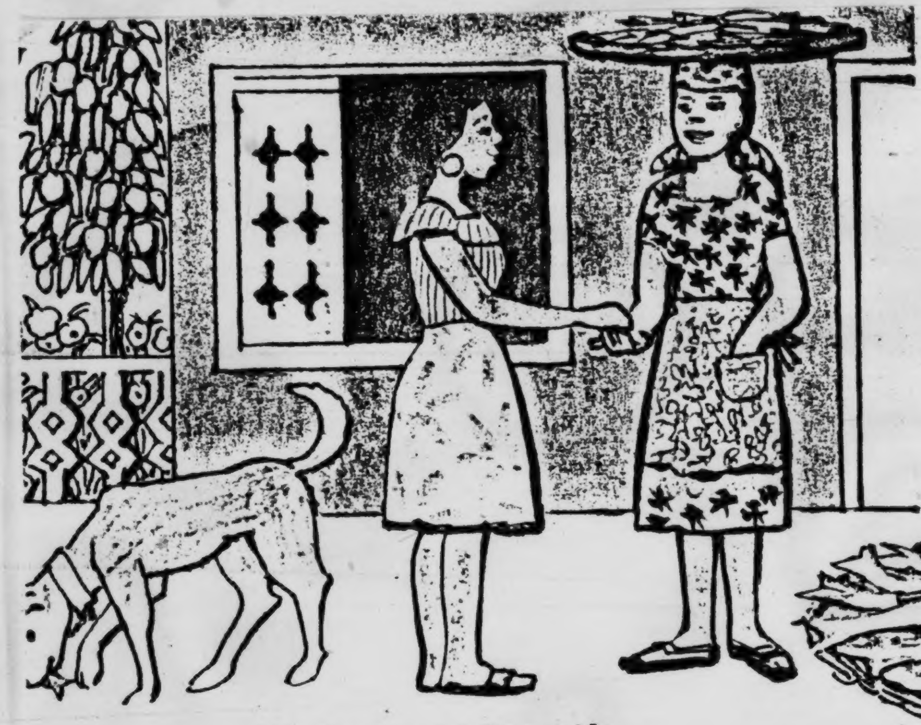


Hindu Wedding (NB green faces)

210

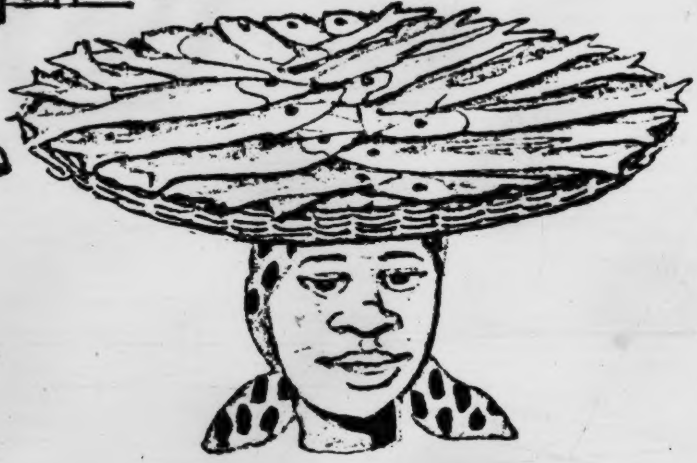


Market Scene!

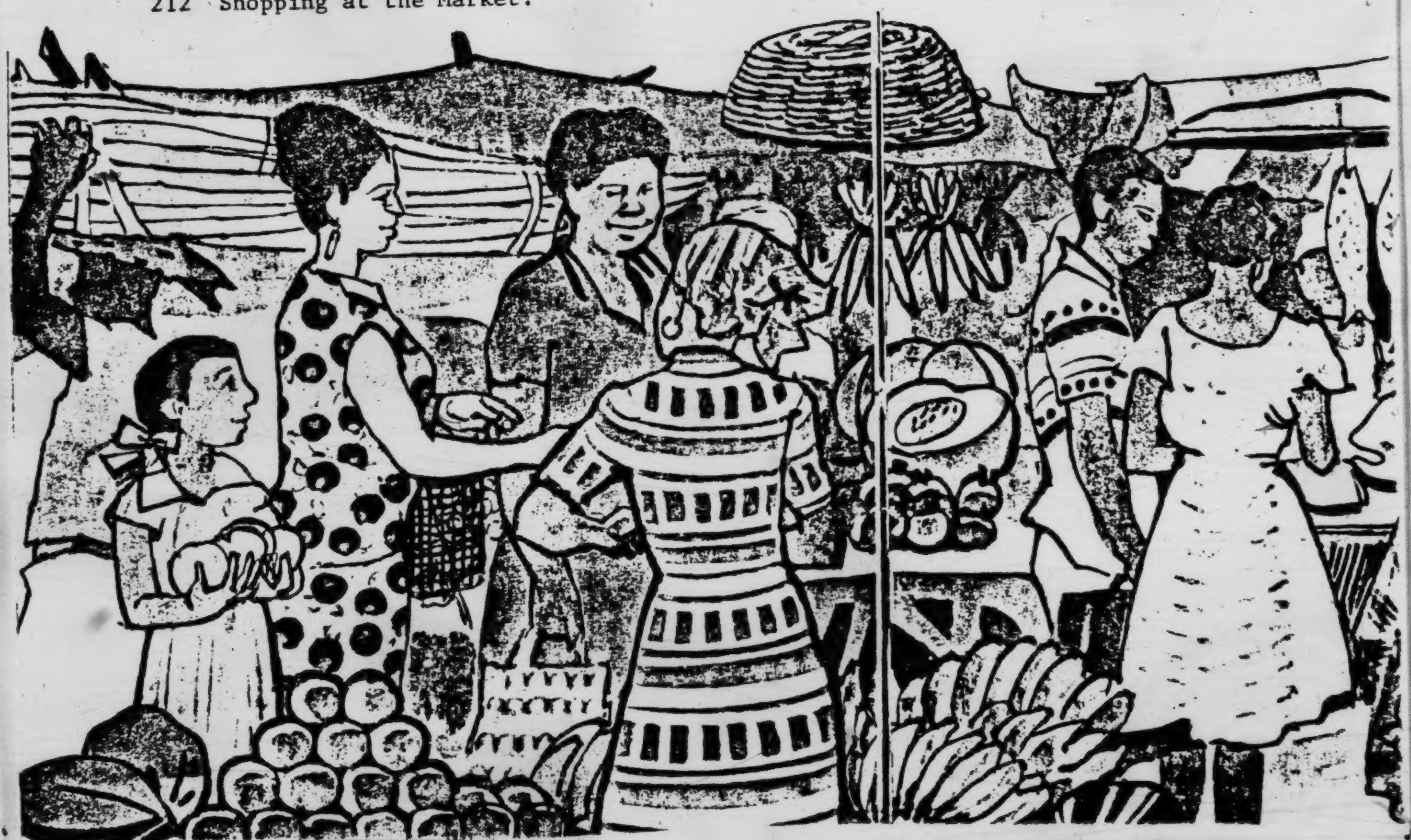


Fish Vender and Housewife.

211



212 Shopping at the Market.



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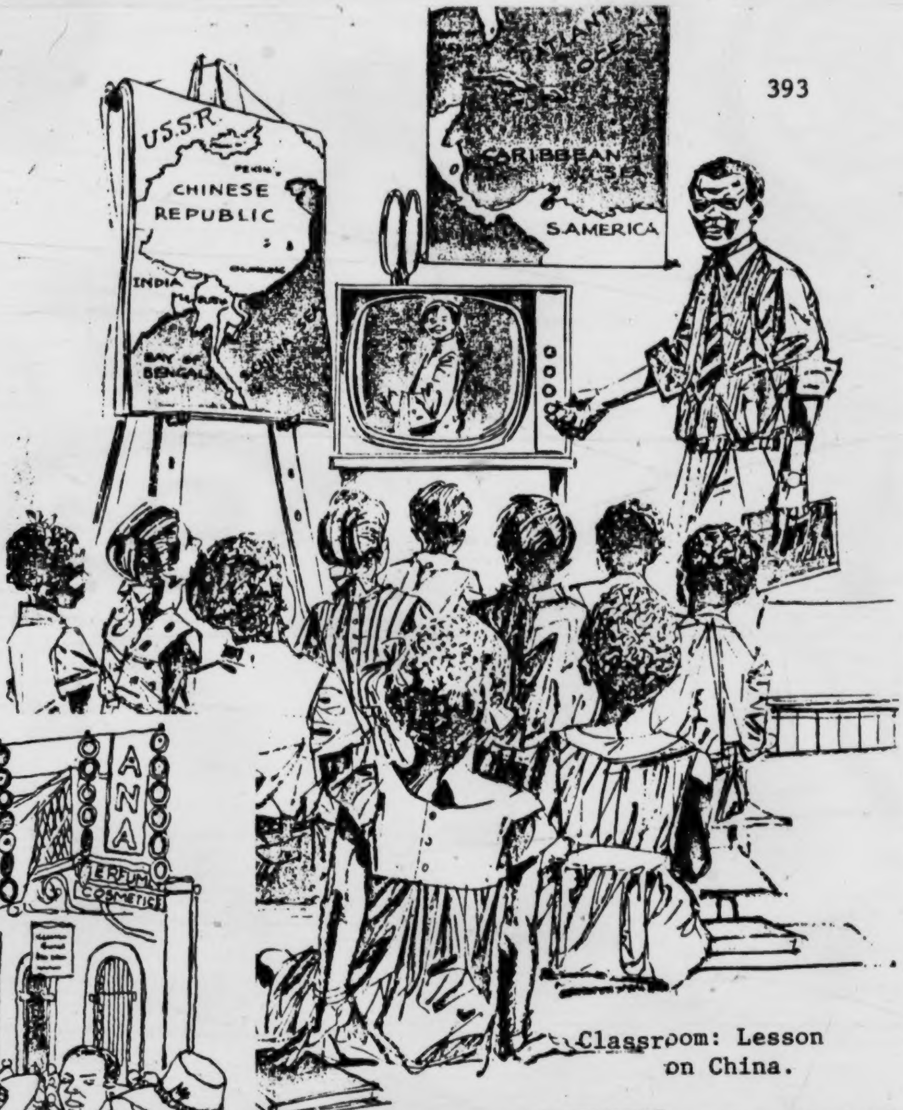
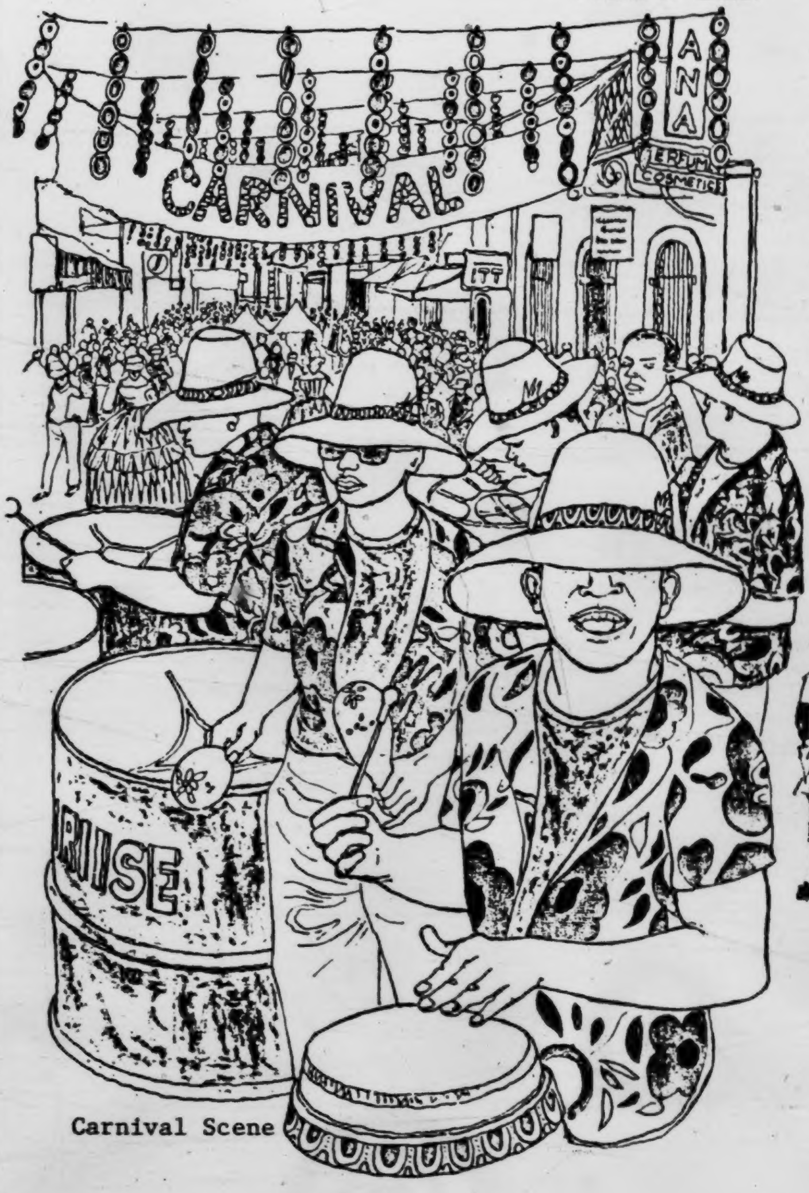

U.S.S.R.
CHINESE REPUBLIC
INDIA
BAY OF BENGAL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
S.AMERICA

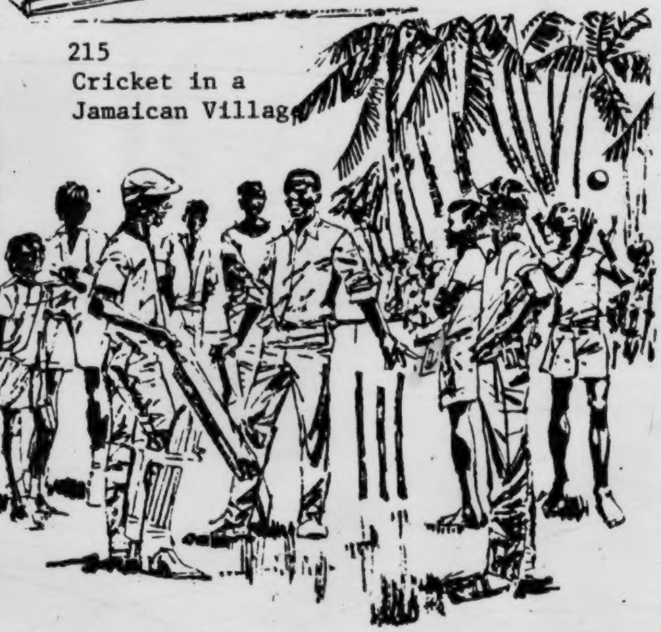
Classroom: Lesson on China.

214


CARNIVAL
ANA
PERFUMES
COSMETICS
RISE

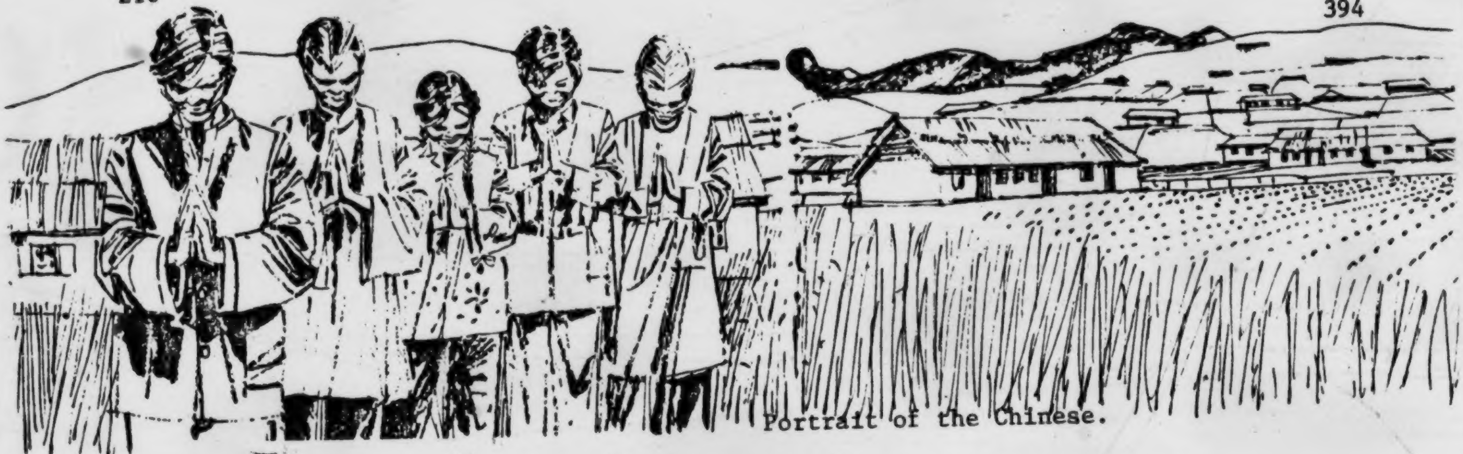
Carnival Scene

215
Cricket in a Jamaican Village



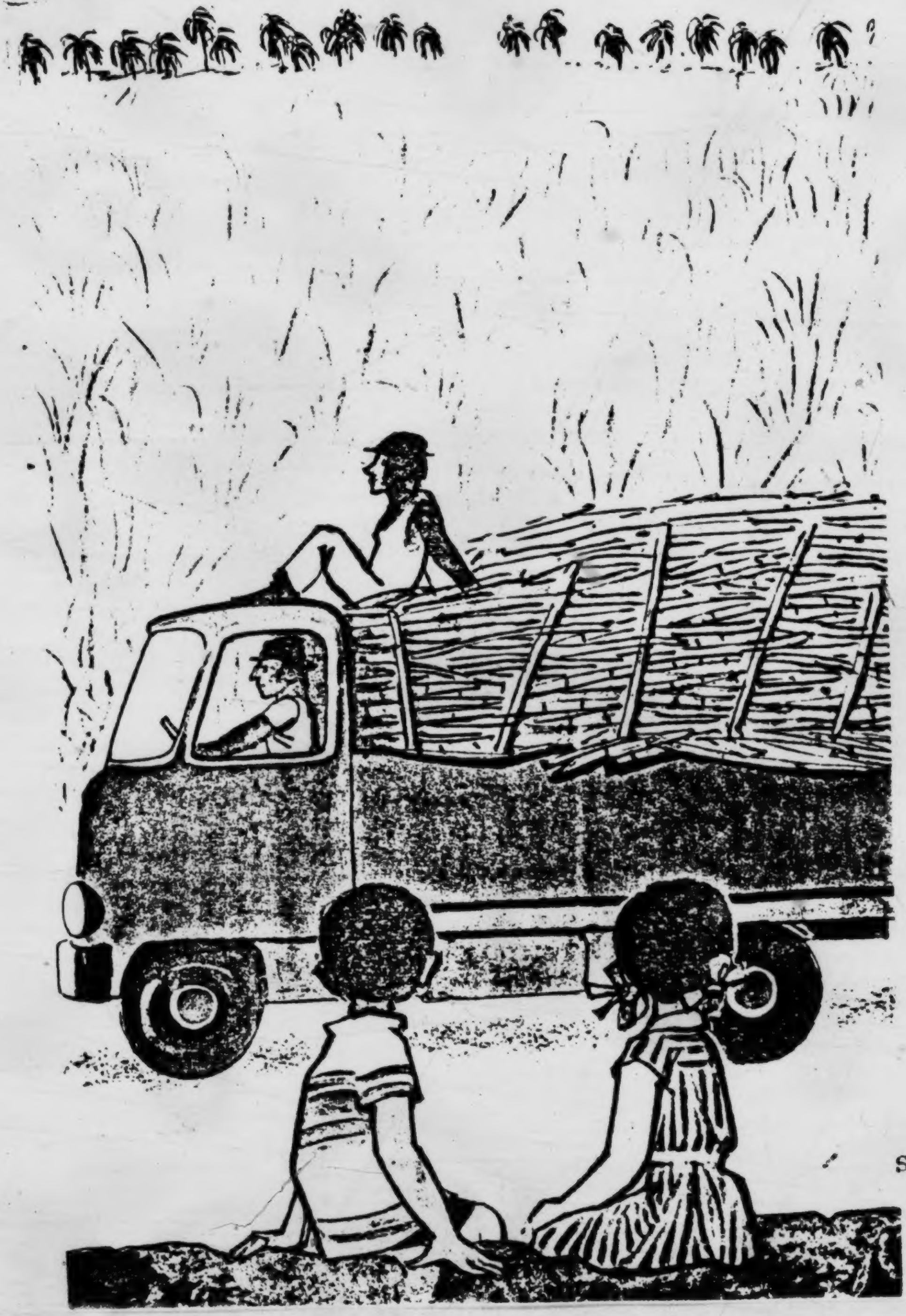
Cricket is just a noble game,
And none there is above it,
Oh, it would be a dreadful shame
If children did not love it.

216



Portrait of the Chinese.

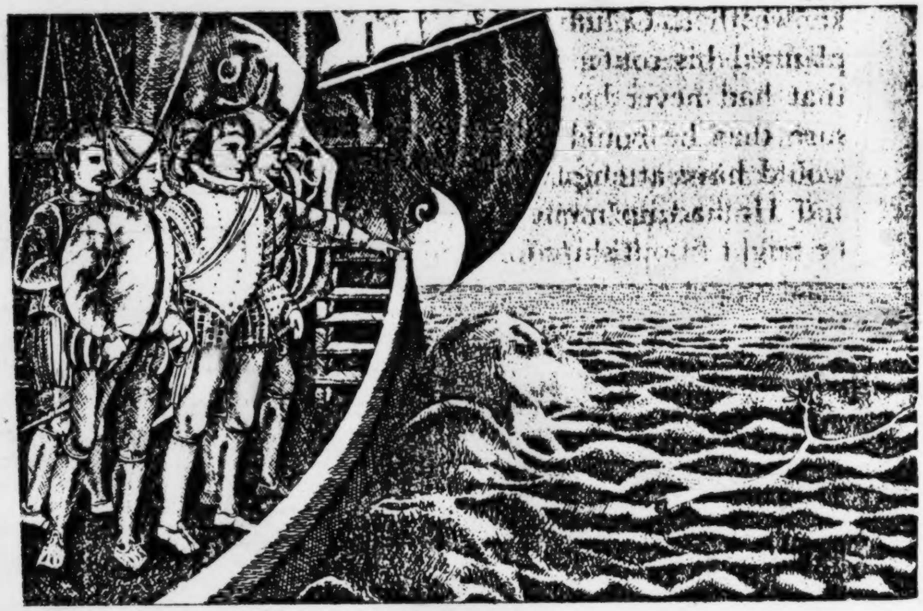
217



Sugar Cane Workers

Columbus sights land

218



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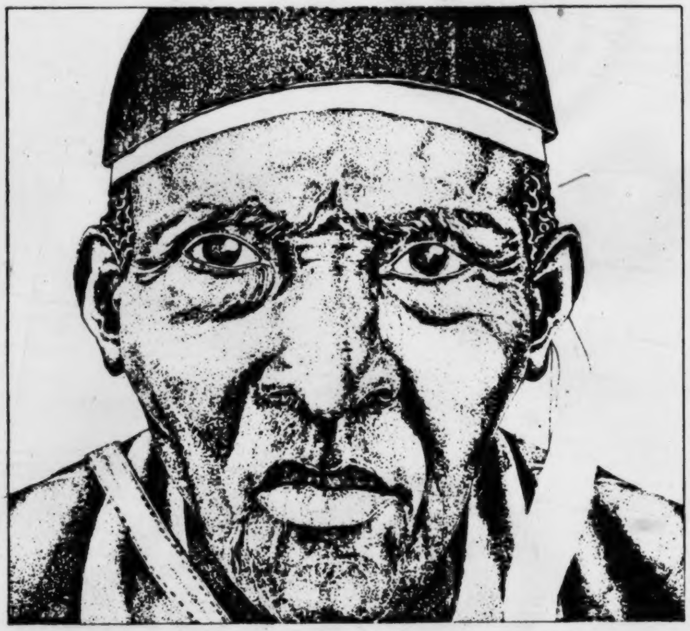
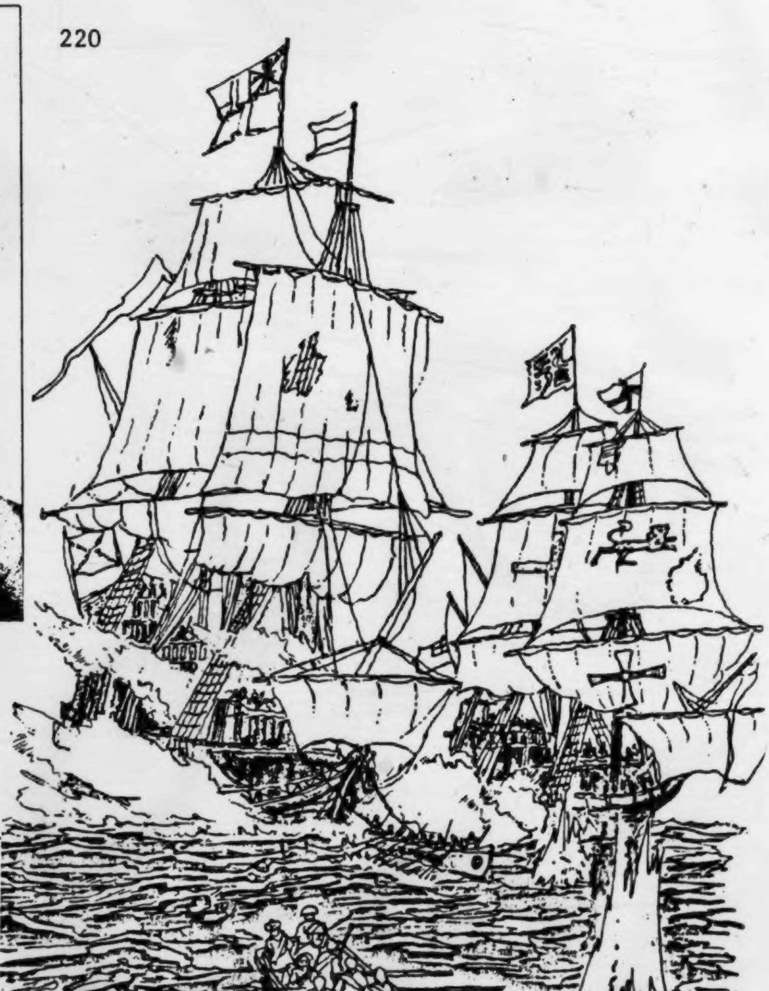


Cudjoe, the Maroon leader

220



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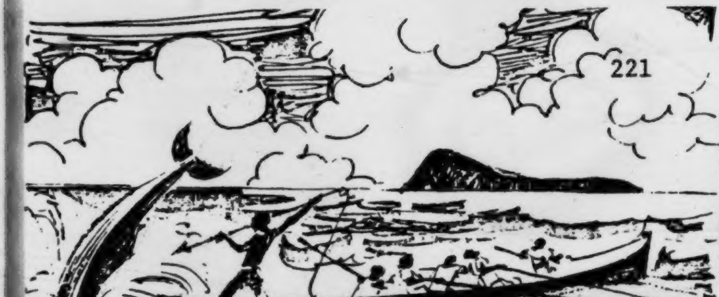

APPENDIX J (Continued)

Thesis Page No.	Illustration No.	Reader Page No.
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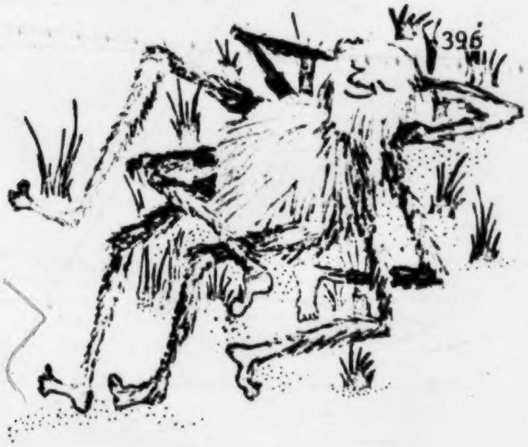
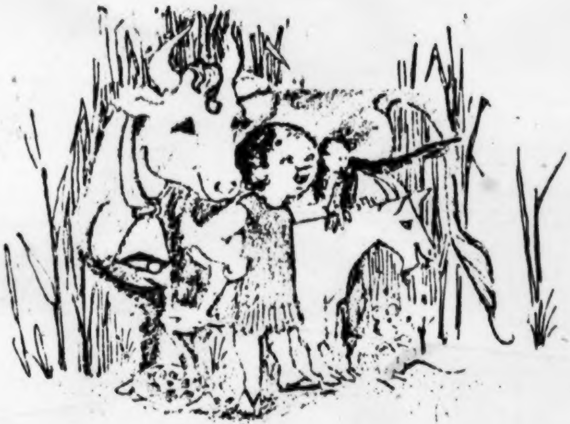
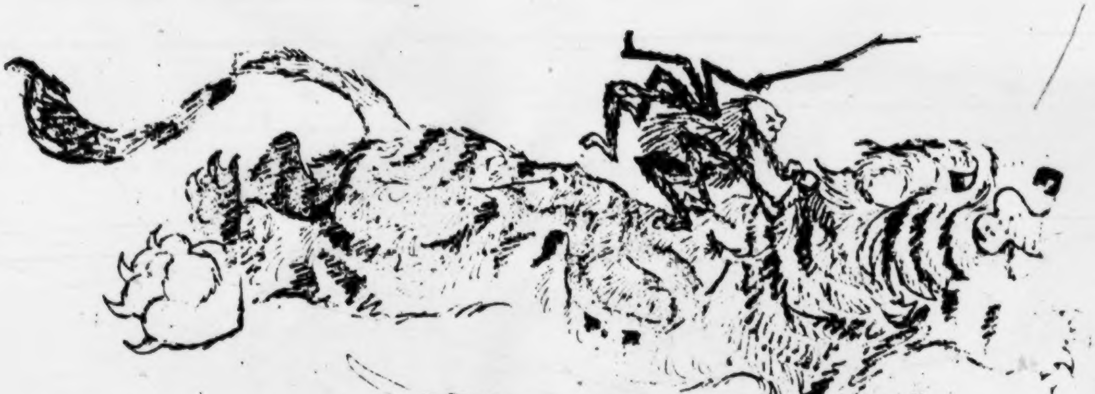
	223	23 III
397	224	40 & 43 III
398	225	56-7 II

222





Anansi's Old Riding-horse



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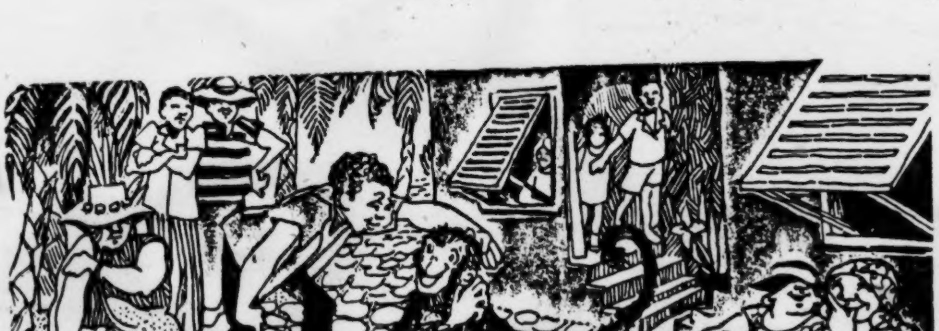
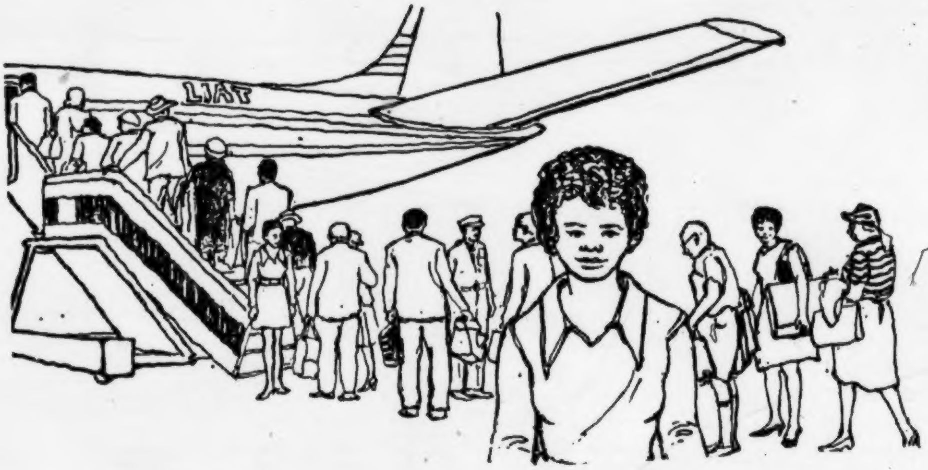
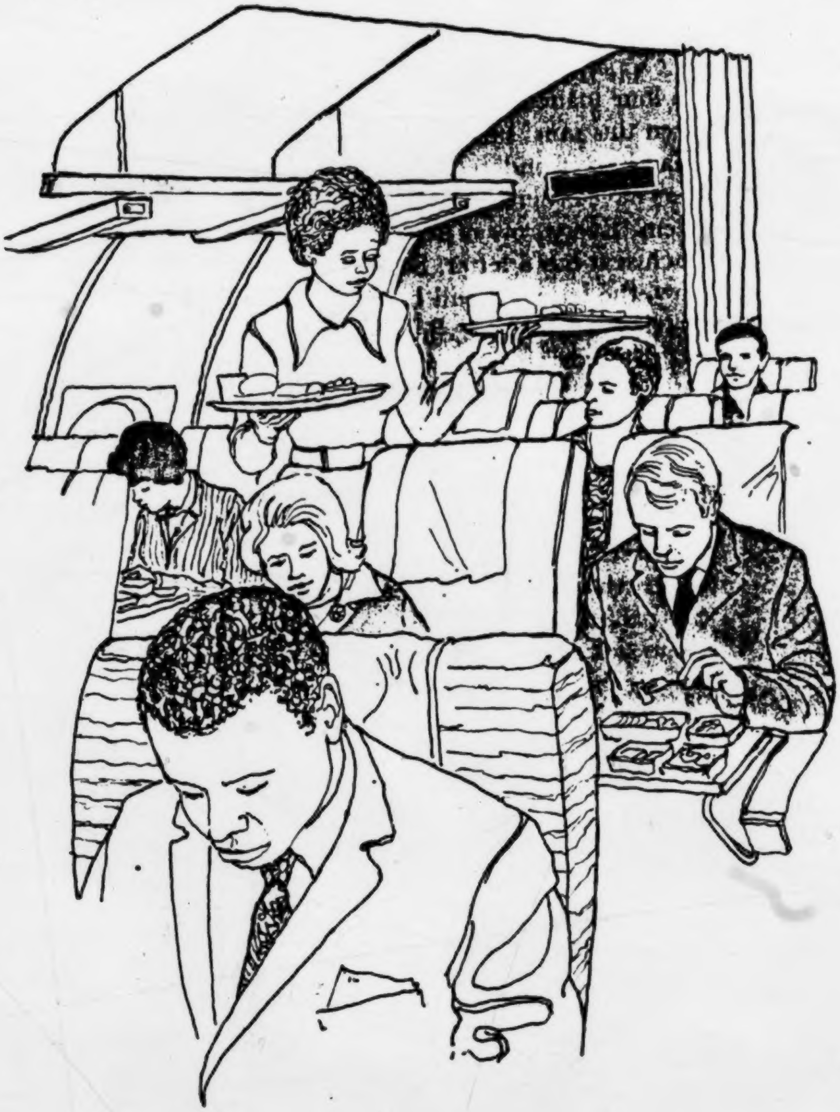


Trouble Made the Monkey Eat Pepper.

'The pranksters'



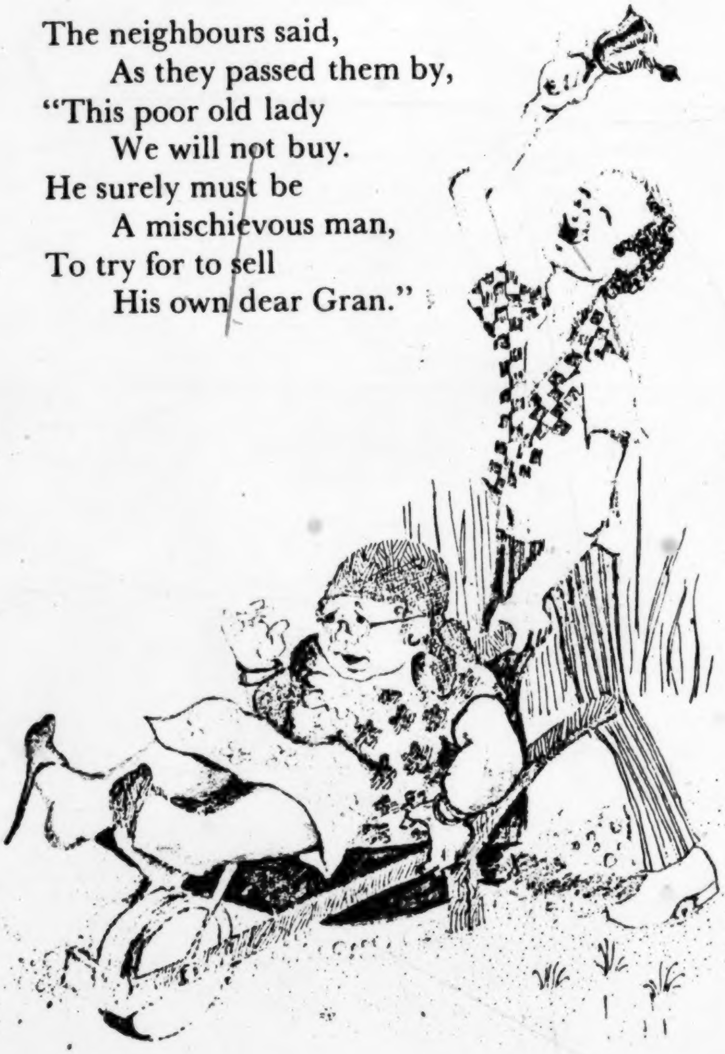
The Making of an 'Air Hostess'



13 Mr Tom Narrow

A scandalous man
Was Mr. Tom Narrow,
He pushed his grandmother
Round in a barrow.
And he called out loud
As he rang his bell,
"Grannies to sell!
Old grannies to sell!"

The neighbours said,
As they passed them by,
"This poor old lady
We will not buy.
He surely must be
A mischievous man,
To try for to sell
His own dear Gran."



An Illustration of 'Agism'

"Besides," said another,
"If you ask me,
She'd be very small use
That I can see."
"You're right," said a third,
"And no mistake—
A very poor bargain
She'd surely make."

So Mr. Tom Narrow
He scratched his head,
And he sent his grandmother
Back to bed;
And he rang his bell
Through all the town,
Till he sold his barrow
For half a crown.

JAMES REEVES

APPENDIX K.

OCCUPATIONS

1. NELSON'S ROYAL READER

MALE		FEMALE	
WAM	OAM	WAF	OAF
Army Officer	Baker	Nun	Ayah
Artist	Elephant Attendant	Queen	Fruit Vendor
Baker	Servant		Servant
Blacksmith	Tailor		
Buccaneer	Tea Farmer		
Businessman	Tea Merchant		
Butler			
Carpenter			
Chimney Sweep			
Clerk			
Cowboy			
Czar			
Duke			
Engineer			
Explorer			
Farmer			
Fisherman			
Grocer			
Gentleman			
Harness Mkr			
Judge			
King			
Merchant			
Miner			
Monk			
Nobleman			
Pirate			
Planter			
Porter			
Sail Mkr			
Sailor			
Sawyer			
Ship Builder			
Ship's Officer			
Smelter Wkr			
Soldier			
Teacher			
Whale Hunter			
Wood Cutter			
total: 39	total: 6	total: 2	total: 3

OCCUPATIONS (Cont'd)

2. NELSON'S NEW ROYAL READER

MALE

WAM

Farmer
King
Nobleman
Prince
Shoemaker
Teacher

total: 6

OAM

total: 0

FEMALE

WAF

Princess
Queen
Wool Spinner

total: 3

OAF

total: 0

3. NELSON'S WEST INDIAN READERS

Blacksmith (2)
Buccaneer
Doctor (2)
Driller
Explorer
Farmer (2)
Fisherman
Geologist
Governor
Hunter
King (2)
Merchant
Miller
Planter
Prince
Sailor
Sea Captain (2)
Slave
Story Teller
Tailor

total: 25

Cane Cutter
Clergyman
Cocoa Laborer
Doctor
Farmer
Fisherman
Gardener
Jeweller
Lawyer
Minister
Pundit
Sponge fisherman
Shop Keeper
Turtle Catcher
Woodcutter (2)

total: 16

Milk Maid
Queen

total: 2

Cake Vendor
Cane Laborer (2)
Cocoa Laborer

total: 4

OCCUPATIONS (Cont'd)

4. GINN'S CARIBBEAN READERS

MALE		FEMALE	
WAM	OAM	WAF	OAF
Admiral	Banana Laborer	Bar Attendant	Nurse
Buccaneer	Brick Layer	Merchant(Noblewoman)	Seamstress
Businessman	Cane Laborer	Servant	Teacher (2)
Chef	Carpenter	Teacher	
Doctor	Coal Miner		
Explorer	Cotton Picker		
Knight	Dentist		
Mountain Climber	Doctor		
Sailor (2)	Engineer		
Scientist	Farmer		
Sea Captain	Hunter/Gatherer		
Servant (2)	Lawyer		
	Mason		
	Merchant		
	Painter		
	Policeman		
	Pump Attendant		
	Rice Farmer		
	Servant		
	Shop Keeper		
	Slave		
	Station Master		
	Teacher		
	Waterside Wkr		
total: 14	total: 25	total: 4	total: 4

5. NISBET'S JANET AND JOHN READERS

Carousel Operator			
Pet Shop Owner			
Pilot			
Postman			
Toymaker			
total: 5	total: 0	total: 0	total: 0

OCCUPATIONS (Cont'd)

6. COLLINS' TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO READER

MALE		FEMALE	
WAM	OAM	WAF	OAF
Explorer	Farmer	Spinner	
Governor	Merchant	Princess(2)	
Judge	Servant		
King(2)	Shopkeeper		
Landowner	Slave		
Sailor			
Servant			
Soldier			
total: 9	total: 5	total: 3	total: 0

7. BLACKIES' TROPICAL READER

Note: There are two Teachers in the reader, one Male one Female, but Ethnic identity is not indicated. These Teachers speak as though they were reading from an English Agricultural Text Book, so they express themselves as English or White.

8. COLLINS' IBIS READERS

	Bus Driver (2)		Bookstore attendant
	Businessman		Fruit Vender
	Coconut Laborer		Nurse
	Cocnut Vender		Teacher (2)
	Fisherman		
	Ice-jelly Vender		
	Pan Player		
	Policeman		
	Postman		
	Snow Cone Vender		
total: 0	total: 11	total: 0	total: 5

9. OLIVER AND BOYD'S HAPPY VENTURE SERIES

Elephant Attendant		Toyshop Attendant	
Engineer			
Farmer			
Fireman			
Railway Porter			
Store Attendant			
total: 6	total: 0	total: 1	total: 0

OCCUPATIONS (Cont'd)

10. NELSON'S NEW WEST INDIAN READERS

MALE		FEMALE	
WAM	OAM	WAF	OAF
Buccaneer	Boat Builder	Circus Fat Lady	Corncake Vender
Clown	Busdriver (3)	Queen	Crabcatcher
Farmer	Citrus Grower	Trapese Artist	Fish Vender
Governor	Crabcatcher		Market Vender
Hunter	Customs Officer		Potter
King	Factory Manager		Stewardess (Hostess)(2)
Pilot (2)	Farmer(2)		Teacher
Sailor (2)	Fisherman(2)		
Tight-rope Walker	Forklift Driver		
Trapese Artist	Guard (WASA)		
	Hunter (2)		
	Judge		
	Kite Craftsman		
	Lighterman		
	Longshoreman		
	Pilot (3)		
	Pundit		
	Sheikh		
	Silk Farmer		
	Stevedore		
	Tally Clerk		
	Teacher(2)		
	Trader/Merchant		
	Tugboat Pilot		
	Whale Hunter		
	Yatchsman		
	Zoo Attendant		
total: 12	total: 36	total: 3	total: 8